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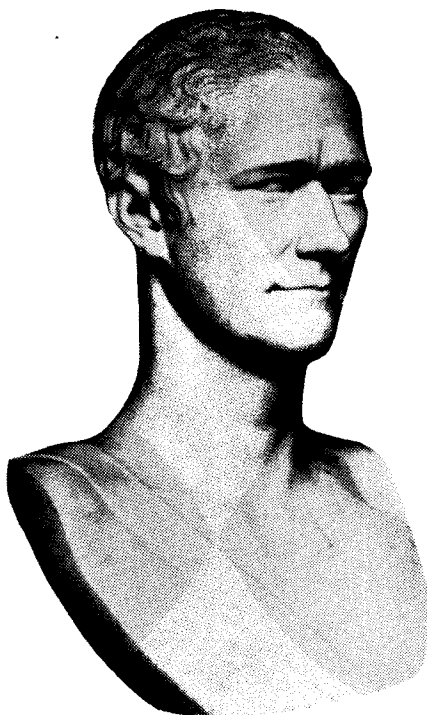
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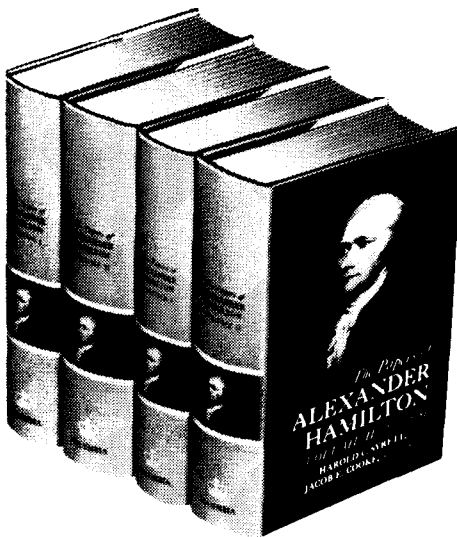
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Distinctive Traits of Western Civilization: Through the Eyes of Western Historians

GERHARD MASUR*

HISTORICAL consciousness is a late flower of Western civilization. If we accept Johan Huizinga's definition of history as "the intelligible form in which a culture accounts for its past," we may conclude that our present historical consciousness is the form in which we render the account of our own civilization.¹ The survival of this form will, to a large extent, depend on the survival of our own civilization. In any case, there can be little doubt that this historical consciousness is one method of self-understanding, and perhaps the most significant one that the Occidental world has developed. It follows that historical and philosophical interpretations of Western civi-

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¹Johan Huizinga, *Geschichte und Kultur, Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Stuttgart, 1954), 106.

lization are so many attempts to define the means and aims of Western man. A scrutiny of these aims and means by alien eyes may come to very different and even opposite evaluations.

One can hardly speak of a "history of Western civilization" prior to the eighteenth century. Only with Voltaire, Turgot, Condorcet, and Herder, do we come across the attempt to write universal history as the story of civilization. These first philosophies of history were the result of the great crisis that shook the European mind at the turn from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, so brilliantly described by Paul Hazard. This crisis accelerated the process of secularization which was well on its way since the days of the Renaissance. However, even these attempts still show traces, and perhaps more than traces, of the Christian pattern of thought that preceded them.

Voltaire's *Essai sur l'esprit et les mœurs des nations* has a definite polemic directed against Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* and was written to replace the Christian version of history by an enlightened one. As in most controversies, however, the hostility shown to the opponent was in reality a tribute and a compliment. The philosophy of history of the Enlightenment is unthinkable without the Christian scheme of historical reckoning.

There were two basic ideas which Christian thought introduced into historical thinking: the history of humanity in terms of a unity of purpose was contemplated, and every event in time fitted into the whole and was meaningful in relation to the significant order in the evolution of mankind.² That this meaning was a supranatural one, that it could be explained only in theological terms, did not detract from its significance; rather the opposite. History was *Heilsgeschichte*; it had a messianic goal and an eschatological structure. Both have influenced modern thought to an immeasurable degree. The Church fathers had promulgated ideas that embraced the course of human events in time; Clement spoke of the education of the human race; Tertullian advanced the theory that the successive stages in the evolution of mankind correspond to the ages of man, while Cyprian interpreted history according to the six days of creation. One hears the reverberations of these conceptions in Giovanni Vico, Gotthold Lessing, Johann Gottfried von Herder, Oswald Spengler, and even in Arnold Toynbee. The Augustinian division of the world into *Civitas Dei* and *Civitas Terrena* laid the foundation for the contrast between light and darkness, between barbarism and civilization, that the Enlightenment established.³

² Hans Freyer, "Die Systeme der weltgeschichtlichen Betrachtung," *Propyläen Weltgeschichte* (11 vols., Berlin, 1929), I, 3-28; Julius Kaerst, "Studien zur Entwicklung der universalgeschichtlichen Anschauung," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVI (1906), CXI (1913).

³ Freyer, "Systeme der weltgeschichtlichen Betrachtung," 16.

Perhaps even more influential were the speculations of Joachim de Floris, who saw the epochs of humanity as repeating the divine persons of the Trinity and who prophesied the advancement of mankind from the age of the Father and the Son to a state of love and perfection, that is, the reign of the Holy Ghost. The channels by means of which these ideas survived are still quite unexplored, but they were undoubtedly open to G. W. F. Hegel and his dialectic triad, to Auguste Comte, and even to Russian thinkers like Fëdor Dostoevski and Sergei Soloviëv. And who could fail to note that all of the Marxian prophecies are colored by the expectation of a mankind nearing the millennium?⁴

More than to such palpable influences, Western historical thought owes its most basic assumption to the Christian tradition, namely that the meaning of history is one, that it cannot be manifold, but must be single and unique. From Voltaire to Hegel, Comte, and Max Weber, philosopher-historians have endeavored to find this single purpose of Western civilization and have tried to define it. Hence the classic interpretation of Western civilization is characterized by the belief that the meaning of history is most clearly revealed in the end stage of Occidental culture and ultimately identical with it. Whenever the Oriental civilizations are included in the picture of world history, there is present a negative intention, namely, to show why these civilizations failed to develop at the rapid pace of the European. Voltaire and Weber are examples of this tendency. Or, again, the intention is to support the assumption that their retarded evolution would be overcome in the fullness of time, as Karl Marx predicted. The underlying idea, then, is a concept of the oneness of history, and, as J. L. Talmon says, "of universal concord at the end of days." This does not necessarily imply that all the accents are positive or messianic, but it does mean that history becomes identical with Western history, that the distinctive traits of Western civilization become the goal of human development. This attitude is most clearly expressed in Hans Freyer's latest volume, *Weltgeschichte Europas*.⁵ I am, of course, aware that this Europocentric approach owes much of its strength and conviction to the dynamic expansion of the European nations into the far corners of the world and the consequent destruction of the autochthonous civilizations that they found in their path. Even so, the fact remains that the historical interpretations which accompanied or followed this expansion are deeply indebted to the Christian pattern of historical thought.

On the other hand, it would be puerile to deny that the eighteenth-cen-

⁴ Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago, 1949), 145; Konrad Burdach, *Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit* (2 pts., Berlin, 1913-28).

⁵ Hans Freyer, *Weltgeschichte Europas* (2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1948).

ture historiography which concerned itself with the interpretation of Western civilization is marked by a definite opposition to Christian tradition and that it constitutes a break with many of the values that had until then governed the writing of world history. Voltaire speaks with derision of Bossuet's "prétendue Histoire Universelle qui n'est que celle de quatre ou cinq peuples."⁶ He wanted to prove that civilization was in reality much older than the Christian chronology admitted and encompassed nations never mentioned in Hebrew-Christian narration. Although his firsthand knowledge of these people was limited, his enthusiasm ranged widely.⁷ He applauded Confucius; he looked upon India with approval; he chanted the praises of Mohammed to the point that it was rumored in Paris that Voltaire would soon be en route to Constantinople to attend his own circumcision.⁸ Instead of directing his interests toward the salvation of mankind, Voltaire wanted to write history "en vrai politique et en vrai philosophe," which really meant a history of the human mind, of human society, and of human culture.

But Voltaire's execution fell short of his grand intentions. The narrowness of the Christian perspective had been overcome, but it had not been supplanted by an integrated historical view. Voltaire's mind hovers over the historical globe like a balloon (if I may use an expression of Goethe's); he is driven up on currents of enlightened optimism and then pulled down by surges of skeptical pessimism.⁹ Instead of the empires into which Bossuet divides his account, Voltaire lists four great periods of cultural achievements: Periclean Athens, Augustinian Rome, the Italy of the Medici, and France under Louis XIV. The advancement of civilization during these four epochs cancels the periodic intolerance and barbarism of the Dark Ages. Voltaire harbors little doubt that Western Europe had done more for the triumph of science and progress than the rest of mankind. *La raison cultivée* is the organizing center of the historical picture that he paints, a picture reflecting the tastes and prejudices of the educated French bourgeoisie of the eighteenth century.¹⁰ But world history, even Occidental history, by no means offers a panorama where every prospect pleases and only priests are vile. It is, instead, a chain of barren mountains interrupted by a few fertile valleys of cultural bloom.

⁶ J. H. Brumfitt, *Voltaire, Historian* (Oxford, Eng., 1958), 32.

⁷ F. M. A. de Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes* (52 vols., Paris, 1877), XI, XII, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*; Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (Munich, 1959), 73-115.

⁸ Brumfitt, *Voltaire*, 82; Werner Kaegi, "Voltaire und der Zerfall des christlichen Geschichtsbildes," in *Historische Meditationen* (Zürich, 1942); Heinrich Morf, "Bossuet und Voltaire als Universalhistoriker," in *Aus Dichtung und Sprache der Romanen* (3 vols., Berlin, 1903-22), I, 300.

⁹ Quoted by Meinecke, *Entstehung des Historismus*, 84.

¹⁰ Voltaire, *Essai*, introd., 3-15.

It was only in the next generation that French thinkers brought Voltaire's contradictory suggestions into a cohesive tableau.

Turgot and Condorcet amalgamated Voltaire's universal outlook with Locke's idea of the perfectibility of man, thus making the idea of progress the ultimate goal of civilization. The belief in universal progress was, of course, an a priori thought projected into the mass of historical data that had been lying in wait for the hands of just such master builders. Turgot's two great addresses pertaining to the progress of the human mind describe history as a fabric woven from passion and reason. The formation of states, the intermingling of races, the intercourse and commerce of nations are so many necessary steps in the great march of history during which the human mind advances toward its goal. As early as 1750, he sketched the law and rhythm that this development reveals; this was the famous law of the three stages on which Comte was later to build.¹¹

Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* elaborates on the pattern set by Turgot. With a naïveté quite touching in the twentieth century, he affirms: "La perfectibilité est réellement indéfinie." Are these men, however, pertinent to our quest? We must admit that they are, because their view of the human mind is in reality a portrait of Western civilization thrown back from the looking glass of scientific progress. The final achievement to be found in this way of thinking is the philosophy of Comte.¹² Its famous description of universal history from the viewpoint of the law of the three stages, the theological, the metaphysical, and the scientific or positive, remains extraordinary through its grasp of pertinent details and its skill in generalizations. But, once more, the explanation is confined to Western Europe and the white race. The influence of Comte's thinking on the interpretation of world history cannot be made clear in the limits of this paper. It goes far beyond the confines of the positivistic school. It blended easily with the teaching of Darwinism and social Darwinism, as may be seen in Henry Buckle, Herbert Spencer, or Sir Henry Maine. Perhaps its most representative example is H. G. Wells's *An Outline of History*, which traces progress from the origins of life directly into the palace of the League of Nations.

Paralleling these attempts of Anglo-French rationalism to define the meaning of Western civilization by the watchwords of progress, science, and the

¹¹ A. R. J. Turgot, *Oeuvres* (2 vols., Paris, 1844), "Plan de deux discours sur l'histoire universelle," II, 626-71; Kurt Breysig, *Die Meister der entwickelnden Geschichtsschreibung* (Breslau, 1936), 86-92.

¹² Auguste Comte, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, tr. Harriet Martineau (2 vols., London, 1913), I, 1-35, II, 138 ff.

rule of reason, run the interpretations offered by German philosophers such as Lessing, Immanuel Kant, and Herder. In all of them the Christian legacy with definite Protestant overtones is stronger, and consequently the eschatological emphasis greater, than in Voltaire or Turgot. Lessing renewed the hope for the education of the human race, and Kant sketched a program of world history as the formation of a civil society based on legal foundations with a cosmopolitan range.¹³

Of the three figures mentioned above, Herder was the one most deeply attracted by the problems of historicism. The questions of the genesis of the historical world, its relation to God and nature, were enigmas which he tried to solve in ever-renewed attempts. He was the first to understand that every nation, every age, holds the center of its happiness within itself and that the assignment of the historian must be to re-experience this happiness through an act of loving sympathy. If he was not altogether successful in revising Voltaire's philosophy of history and in replacing it by one of his own making, at least he may claim to have been a pioneer in this virgin territory. His universal sympathy moved him to call attention to the manifestations of primitive civilizations, but when he finally undertook the writing of universal history in his *Ideas to a Philosophy of History*, he once more identified the history of the West with that of the world. For him the goal of mankind was not progress but humanity, a criterion at the same time wider and more nebulous than that used by his predecessors.¹⁴ Humanity is the source of history and its goal. "The education of man on earth has been left to himself by the Godhead." The formation of humanity is the divine purpose of history, but one that has been entrusted to us. This idea is at once an aim and a principle of selection for the historian, but it is lacking in clarity, and Kant was right to criticize Herder for failing to demonstrate a well-defined purpose. There is considerable confusion of principles in Herder's work, and an equal amount of contradictory prophecies. He found it possible to predict that "everything in Europe indicates the slow extinction of national character" and in the same breath announce the awakening of the Slavic people.

Benedetto Croce has called the historical thinking of the eighteenth century a profane theology; German thought in the age of Goethe has likewise been defined as historical theology.¹⁵ It discloses a bewildering array

¹³ Meinecke, *Entstehung des Historismus*, 289 ff.; Freyer, *Systeme der weltgeschichtlichen Betrachtung*, 16.

¹⁴ J. G. Herder, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan (33 vols., Berlin, 1899-1914), XIII, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*; Meinecke, *Entstehung des Historismus*, 355; Arthur Lovejoy, *Essays in the History of Ideas* (New York, 1948), 166-82; Breysig, *Meister der entwickelnden Geschichtsschreibung*, 193.

¹⁵ Carl Hinrichs, *Ranke und die Geschichtstheologie der Goethezeit* (Göttingen, 1954).

of historical speculation which cannot be presented at this time. Some ideas, however, stand out in clear relief. Perhaps the most interesting is the attempt, common to most German thinkers, to summarize the meaning of Western civilization in the figure of Prometheus. From Goethe to Johann Fichte, Friedrich von Schelling, Joseph von Görres, Friedrich Schlegel, and Ranke, we find this symbol occupying a central position in historical thought. In mythical form it proffers an understanding of Occidental civilization, both past and future. Prometheus Unbound incarnates the return of mankind to itself. Karl Marx, who called Prometheus the most venerable saint in the calendar of humanity, adhered to the same idea of an alienated mankind which would return to its true self along the road of revolution.¹⁶ Hence, in German thought we will not be surprised to find world history once more identified with Western civilization. "The most eminent place of human culture and of national history is the Asiatic-European hemisphere," said Friedrich Schlegel.¹⁷ His friend, Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg), drew the circle still closer by identifying Europe with Christendom.

Many of the ideas of this generation appear to the reader of today as philosophical bubbles, not without charm, but inconsequential even if held within the realm of ideas. No one, however, would venture to say this of Hegel. He shared in many of the elements of historical theology, but he also succeeded in forging them into the props and buttresses of an imposing intellectual architecture. His *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* remains one of the most impressive self-interpretations of Western man.

"The truth," says Hegel, "is the whole," but the whole is only the essence completed through and in its development. "The only thought which philosophy brings with it to the contemplation of history is the simple concept of Reason; that Reason is the sovereign of the world; . . . the history of the world, therefore, presents us with a rational process."¹⁸ Reason is substance as well as infinite power, its own infinite material underlying all the natural and spiritual life which it originates. Reason is not so powerless that it can produce only the ideal, a mere intention; beyond this, it has power over the infinite complexity of things, their essence and their truth.¹⁹ Universal history belongs to the realm of the spirit. The ultimate design of the world must be perceived, and it must be acknowledged that this design has been

¹⁶ Heinrich Popitz, *Der entfremdete Mensch* (Basel, 1953); Isaiah Berlin, *Karl Marx* (New York, 1959), 121 ff.

¹⁷ Quoted by Hinrichs, *Ranke*, 70.

¹⁸ G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, tr. J. Sibree (London, 1909); Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften* (12 vols., Leipzig, 1914), IV, *Jugendgeschichte Hegels*; Karl Löwith, *Von Hegel bis Nietzsche* (Zürich, 1941).

¹⁹ Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 9-10.

realized in world history. By equating the absolute mind with absolute freedom, Hegel established a discernible goal for humanity, namely liberty, and defined world history as "the progress of the consciousness of freedom."²⁰

This definition serves a twofold purpose. It sets a goal for humanity in general and at the same time expounds the specific traits of Western civilization. Hegel maintained that the concept of life as a phoenix which prepares its own funeral pyre only to rise anew from the ashes is Oriental. Occidental man, to the contrary, does not return to the same form; he comes forth "exalted and glorified" with each successive phase. For the West, history has an irreversible direction and an unshakable goal.²¹

It has often been observed with what skill Hegel integrated the contributions of national spirits (*Völkergeister*) in the great gait of history. History begins in the East, but Orientals have not attained to the knowledge that man as such is free. They know only that one individual is free. The Greeks and Romans, among whom the consciousness of freedom first arose, knew only that some are free. The German nations under the influence of Christianity were the first to reach the consciousness that man as man is free. "We know that all men absolutely (man as man) are free."²²

It would seem obvious that such a world view has its limitations. Just as Hegel used the Orient as a backdrop for his drama, so does he revert to ambiguities when the curtain rises on the final scene, the scene that must follow the apotheosis of the Absolute Mind. How can history proceed once the Absolute has been reached? There are some pages of astonishing foresight regarding Russia and America in his *Philosophy of History*, but both countries loom like dark mountains on the horizon of a landscape that is otherwise brilliant and full of promise.

Yet, I confess that, for me, Hegel's interpretation remains the classical expression of the liberal Protestant view. Its counterpart in France is Guizot's *History of Civilization*, but the latter does not have the same force of construction. Hegel's influence goes far beyond the limits of the age of restoration. One is inclined to speculate on how Lord Acton's projected *History of Liberty* would have compared with Hegel's lectures had Lord Acton ever undertaken its execution. Croce's *History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century* is in reality a variation on the Hegelian theme, that is, that the goal of history is the progress of the consciousness of liberty. And if we limit ourselves to a strictly positivistic viewpoint, we must admit that Hegel defined at least one

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 19–20.

²¹ Löwith, *Meaning in History*, 56–57.

²² Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 20.

of the outstanding Western traits. As sober a thinker as Otto Hintze said that the representative system of government is typically European.²³

The impact of Hegelian thought on the nineteenth century has become most clearly manifest through the teaching of Karl Marx. Before we turn our attention to Marx, however, it might be worth while to focus briefly on the generation of historians and philosophers who continued the tradition of German idealism. Ernst von Lasaulx had considerable influence on Lord Acton, but is remembered chiefly because Jacob Burckhardt made him the target of his ire. But Burckhardt failed to see some of the fertile ideas that Lasaulx expounded. For Lasaulx humanity was an organism that continues to grow until all human potentialities have been realized. There are brilliant intuitions in his *Essay of a Philosophy of History*, such as the observation on the contemporaneity of Christ, Zarathustra, Buddha, and Confucius, an observation on which Karl Jaspers has based his recent attempt to establish an axial period in world history which has served as a matrix for all future cultural development of mankind.²⁴

Lasaulx's achievements were overshadowed, however, by the much greater ones of Ranke. With Ranke a new element entered the historical endeavor. The famous remark that he only wished to tell "what really happened" points to a new standard of critical analysis as the touchstone for historical interpretation. If the demand for such factual evidence did not make a philosophy of history altogether impossible, it exacted empirical observation as the foundation on which to base broad general principles. Since then universal history has tended to degenerate into a collection of individual narratives, loosely united by political, sociological, or even geographical principles, or it has presented its organizing ideas as the result of positivistic research, even where it is only another preconceived approach in empirical disguise, as is the case with Toynbee. Ranke himself was far from being a positivist, and the motivating force behind his indefatigable research was not purely scientific, but religious and philosophical.²⁵ Luther, Fichte, Goethe, Schelling, and Hegel exercised a profound influence on his mind. "God," he wrote in 1820, "lives, and is recognized in all history." He tried on his part to reveal the

²³ François Guizot, *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe* (Paris, 1894); Lord John Acton, *History of Freedom*, ed. J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence (London, 1907); Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Lord Acton* (London, 1952); Otto Hintze, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1941), I, 133.

²⁴ Ernst von Lasaulx, *Neuer Versuch einer alten, auf die Wahrheit der Tatsachen gegründeten Philosophie der Geschichte* (Munich, 1856); Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "The Historical Thought of Ernst von Lasaulx," *Theological Studies*, XIV (No. 3, 1953), 377-401.

²⁵ Gerhard Masur, *Ranke's Begriff der Weltgeschichte* (Munich, 1926); Hinrich, *Ranke, passim*.

meaning of the "sacred hieroglyphics" and to tell "the saga of world history."²⁶

His problem was of a very special nature. He rejected the idea of progress as a yardstick by which to measure the past and insisted that all epochs are "immediate to God." On the other hand, he sensed a purpose behind the surface of events. The result is paradoxical and may best be defined as teleology without a telos. He shied away from ironclad definitions in the manner of Hegel, yet he refused to admit that history was nothing but the result of chance forces casually floating hither and thither. "World history does not present such a chaotic tumult, such a warring and planless succession of states and peoples as appears at first sight. Nor is the often dubious advancement of civilization its only significance. There are forces, and indeed spiritual, life-giving, creative forces, nay life itself, and there are moral energies whose development we see. They cannot be defined or put in abstract terms, but one can behold them and observe them."²⁷

If we ask for a more concrete answer, we are referred to the spirit of the Latin and Teutonic nations, to the "guardian spirit of Europe," whom Ranke frequently calls the "genius of the Occident." To him this genius was apparent in the Protestant Reformation as well as in the policy of the Roman popes, in the fight between Parliament and crown as well as in the military adventures of Frederick the Great. He perceived in the European system of states a tendency to guarantee the freedom of the whole while assuring the separate existence of every individual state. One might say that for Ranke world history was the progress of the consciousness of liberty, with a difference: Ranke looked at states rather than at man.²⁸

These optimistic overtones did not vanish from his latest writings. One year after the Congress of Berlin, he described the genius of the Occident in the following words: "It is the spirit that transforms peoples into organized armies, builds roads, digs canals, covers the oceans with fleets and transforms them into possessions and fills the distant continents with colonies. It explores the depths of nature through exact research, takes possession of all fields of knowledge. . . . Irresistibly, in many guises, unassailable, armed with weapons and science, the spirit of the Occident subdues the world."²⁹ Although Ranke took great pains to assert that universal history embraces humanity in its

²⁶ Leopold von Ranke, *Gesamtausgabe* (54 vols., Leipzig, 1877), LIII, LVI, 89; Herman Oncken, *Aus Rankes Frühzeit* (Gotha, 1922); Theodore Von Laue, *Leopold Ranke* (Princeton, N. J., 1950); Herbert Butterfield, *Man on His Past* (Cambridge, Eng., 1953), 100.

²⁷ Ranke, "Die grossen Mächte," tr. Von Laue, in *Ranke*, 217.

²⁸ See also Ernst Schulin, *Die weltgeschichtliche Erfassung des Orients bei Hegel und Ranke* (Göttingen, 1958), 283, 284.

²⁹ Ranke, *Gesamtausgabe*, XXXIII–XXXIV, 518; Masur, *Ranke's Begriff*, 72; Eberhard Kessel, "Rankes Idee der Universalgeschichte," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXXVIII (No. 2, 1954).

totality, it would seem clear that he, too, placed the emphasis on the Occident, the imperialistic Occident at that, whose development brings forth the idea of freedom through contrast and competition.

The generation following Ranke was not so sure of the destination of Western civilization. Neither Tocqueville, nor Burckhardt, nor Dilthey, tried to define the distinctive traits of Western civilization. Tocqueville asks in his introduction to *Democracy in America*, "Où allons nous donc?" He finds the answer in the gradual development of equality. For him it is a providential fact, possessing all the characteristics of a divine decree; it is universal, it is durable, it constantly eludes all human interference.³⁰ But Tocqueville was more concerned with the future of Western civilization than with characterizing its distinctive traits in the past.

From Dilthey's writings one could glean a picture of the Western mind, but it would be a fragmentary one. Though he declared that universal history, in so far as it was not a superhuman endeavor, would bring the whole of the human studies to their completion, he also realized that no philosophy of history could ever hope to be final.³¹ "There is," he said, "no such last simple word of history, uttering its true sense, any more than there is such a thing to be extracted from nature."³² It is a significant resignation that makes all attempts at universal history futile if not impossible. Burckhardt was even more emphatic in his rejection of a philosophy of history; he called it a centaur, a contradiction in terms. "We are not . . . privy to the purposes of eternal wisdom; they are beyond our ken."³³ His starting point was man—suffering, striving, being what he was, and is, and ever shall be. Burckhardt preferred to reflect on the typical, the recurrent, the perennial in history, and he gave cross sections rather than narration. "For the spirit knows change, but not mortality." He did not point to a final goal because his contemplative aestheticism, muted by Arthur Schopenhauer's pessimism, did not believe in a final goal; he did not even think it desirable for human beings to know the future.³⁴ He was resigned to analyze the three great powers: state, religion, and culture, in their mutual interdependence.

The future of Western civilization occupied Burckhardt's mind with

³⁰ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, tr. Henry Reeve (2 vols., London, 1836), I, xix, xx.

³¹ Gerhard Masur, "Wilhelm Dilthey and the History of Ideas," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XIII (No. 1, 1952), 94-107; Carlo Antoni, *From History to Sociology* (Detroit, 1950); Hajo Holborn, "Dilthey's Critique of Historical Reason," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XI (No. 1, 1949), 93.

³² Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften* (12 vols., Leipzig, 1914), I, 90-92.

³³ Jacob Burckhardt, *Force and Freedom*, tr. James Hastings Nichols (New York, 1943), 80-81; Friedrich Meinecke, *Ranke und Burckhardt* (Berlin, 1948).

³⁴ Burckhardt, *Force and Freedom*, 83.

growing anxiety. His forebodings about the revolution of the masses, the machine age, the regimentation of life, and the rise of the "terribles simplificateurs" have received much attention in our time. But Burckhardt reserved these fears for his friends and correspondents. To his students he spoke of the magnificent spectacle that would be enjoyed by those who could free themselves from their temporal shackles and live in the pure longing for knowledge.³⁵

In many ways Burckhardt's position resembles Dilthey's. Dilthey acknowledged the "anarchy of opinions" as the final word of historical relativism. Both found in the supreme freedom of the mind some solace for the metaphysical support that they had forfeited.

The problem of relativism seems to lead logically to Oswald Spengler and the theory of cultural cycles. Two more attempts to define the distinctive traits of Western civilization, however, must be mentioned first, those made by Karl Marx and Max Weber.

Marx prided himself in having turned Hegel right side up again, but he preserved not only Hegel's dialectical method, but also his unshakable belief in a final goal in history. As a matter of fact, this belief is so strong in Marx that he considers all history prior to the setting up of this goal as merely "prehistoric." "The bourgeois society constitutes the closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society. Real history will begin only when man, who has been alienated and enslaved, shall be freed. The communist revolution will accomplish just this through the abolishment of private property."³⁶ The emancipation of every single individual will be achieved to the same extent that history transforms itself into world history. The alienation of man will then be overcome. It is the old myth of Prometheus Unbound with which we are already familiar.

Marx's contribution to our quest is rather lopsided; it consists in the illumination of what he calls the prehistoric stage and what a less enlightened observer would prefer to call by the old-fashioned name of history. To it he applied the economic interpretation of history and explained the changes that had occurred from antiquity to the nineteenth century as changes in the modes of production.

Since the changes in the modes of production were brought forth by advancements in technology, Marx looks at history as the history of human labor. The machine, in its broadest sense, is for Marx not only a technical but a sociological principle. Class struggle is the result of the existent economic

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 370.

³⁶ Karl Marx, *The German Ideology* (Eng. ed., New York, 1932); Popitz, *Entfremdete Mensch*, *passim*.

conditions and the main vehicle for their transformation.³⁷ "The antagonism between the forces of production and the social conditions of our epoch is a tangible, overwhelming, and undeniable fact." But, adds Marx, "we know that new forms of social production to achieve the good life, need only new men."³⁸

Marx had little to say about these new men, just as he had little to say about the classless society. The bulk of his historical analysis is devoted to the enemy, the bourgeoisie. His love-hatred produced many pages of inspired description, revealing a tremendous perspicacity; we think especially of those passages in the *Communist Manifesto* which are dedicated to the rise and triumph of the bourgeoisie. But, as Croce has observed, world history deteriorates under his pen into an anthology of revolutions, crowned by the revolution to end all revolutions.

The generation of historians, economists, and social scientists who continued Marx's scientific labors was not misled by the fetishes of orthodox or vulgar Marxism. Werner Sombart, Vilfredo Pareto, Croce, and Weber realized that the economic interpretation of history was a heuristic principle of great usefulness and that the genesis of modern capitalism was one of the most important problems that historians of the West had to face. But only Weber saw it in the perspectives of world history, although these were quite different from the Marxian perspectives.

From his celebrated investigations into the spirit of capitalism and the ethics of Protestantism, Weber branched out into the much broader question: Why had capitalism in its final form been possible only in the Occident? His answer is that capitalism in its Western form corresponds to a deep-rooted trait of Occidental thinking, which Weber defines as rationalism.³⁹ Why does science exist only in the Occident? Why do we find systematic philosophical thought only in the West? Why was a rational doctrine of law known only to Rome and the Church? The same spirit of rationalism, Weber insists, permeates the architecture of Gothic cathedrals, perspective painting, and contrapuntal music. More important still, the trained civil servant, this pillar of the modern state, exists only in the West. And the state itself as an institution with rational constitutions, rationally ordained law, and an administration bound by rational rules is known only to the Occident. It is

³⁷ Hans Freyer, *Die weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Kiel, 1951), 22.

³⁸ Quoted by Löwith, *Meaning in History*, 36.

³⁹ Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (3 vols., Tübingen, 1922), I, 18; H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890-1930* (New York, 1958), 319; Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait* (Garden City, N. Y., 1960); Gerhard Masur, *Prophets of Yesterday: Studies in European Culture, 1890-1914* (New York, 1961), 172 ff.

needless to add that the same is true of the advanced forms of high capitalism from which the whole research arose.⁴⁰ Thus, to the question, "What are the distinctive traits of Western civilization?" Weber's unmistakable reply is: Rationalism!

Weber embarked on his studies of world religions for the purpose of discovering why, and why only in the West, this powerful spirit of rationalism had developed. He was right in terming his studies "a contribution to the sociology of rationalism."⁴¹ They were a negative experiment because Weber used the criterion of rationalism to penetrate into the structure of the non-European civilizations and to ascertain why this same principle did not reach fruition in them. It is not suggested that the results of Weber's *Sociology of Religion* could be reduced to this skeletal formula, yet such was his guiding idea. He was a profoundly disenchanted man, who looked upon the victory of rationalism as the final stage in the disenchantment of the world. Once more the world and Western civilization are identified. Whether socialism or capitalism would ultimately prevail was irrelevant for Weber since both were subject to the law of an ever-increasing rationalization.⁴² Weber was the first to show a global awareness of historical consciousness, even though his norms were still essentially Western.

Spengler's *Decline of the West* appeared only a few years after Weber's *Sociology of Religion*. Both share in a much wider horizon than historians had previously envisaged. Spengler spoke of his Copernican revolution without acknowledging that he owed much to the global interconnection engendered by the capitalistic world economy and its twin, imperialism. However that may be, Spengler was the first to confront and compare Western civilization with those that had preceded it, each being an island that had risen mysteriously from the sea of life that surrounded it, and in which it would be submerged once its life span had expired. Spengler's characterization of the West goes under the name of Faustian civilization. He focuses on architecture, the arts, mathematics, philosophy, and music, rather than on economics and politics. The greatest creations of the Faustian culture are not representative government or economic progress, but Gothic or baroque cathedrals, the invention of calculus, and the art of the fugue; its heroes are Michelangelo and Leonardo, Rembrandt and Bach, Leibniz and Goethe. To the best of my knowledge, no other interpretation of Western man has been presented since Spengler.⁴³ His Faustian culture seems the end of the line.

⁴⁰ Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, I, 143.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 4, 13.

⁴² Max Weber, *Gesammelte Politische Schriften* (Munich, 1921); Wolfgang Mommsen, *Max Weber und die deutsche Politik, 1890-1920* (Tübingen, 1959).

⁴³ Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (2 vols., Munich, 1918-23).

And Spengler closes the door on still another perspective. The cultural cycle theory superseded the linear interpretation of Western civilization. Though Spengler had his forerunners, from Polybius to Vico, Brooks Adams, Nikolai Danilevski, and Kurt Breysig, it was *The Decline of the West* that gave the theory of cultural cycles its certificate of nationality among the philosophies of history. It was only honest for Spengler to deny a goal. "For me," he stated, "mankind is a zoological quantity. I see no progress, no goal, no path for humanity."⁴⁴ His philosophy was Nietzsche's eternal recurrence applied to world history.

The picture has not changed substantially since then. Toynbee's *Study of History*, whatever its merits in other respects, did not endeavor to draw a new profile of Western civilization nor to reinterpret its significance. Since Toynbee is more attracted by recurrence in the historical process than by the uniqueness of the individual culture he surveys, he could by-pass this challenge, without response.⁴⁵

Two attempts to reopen the question of the traits of Western civilization must be mentioned: those of Alfred Weber and of Karl Jaspers. Alfred Weber's achievements have been overshadowed by the much greater ones of his brother, but they are far from negligible. The title of his most important work expresses his prime concern: *Kulturgeschichte als Kultursoziologie*.⁴⁶ Like Tocqueville, he asks "Où allons nous donc?" But his prognosis remains uncertain. History is the result of two opposing influences, the sociological constellation and the human spontaneity which responds to its challenge. Universal history thus emerges as a multiple unity (*vielfältige Einheit*). The most interesting parts of this cultural sociology deal with the beginnings of the Western world, with Egypt and Babylonia. There is much Nietzschean and Spenglerian thought in Weber's work; witness his sharp distinction between culture and civilization, and the emphasis on the nomadic tribes who, with cattle breeding and the taming of horses, open the gates to the triumph of the *Herrenmensch*.

Karl Jaspers' *The Origin and Goal of History* is admittedly of a more speculative nature. It is an attempt to integrate the classic view of world history with that of the cultural cycle theory.⁴⁷ As noted above, Jaspers' thought has been enriched by older thinkers, such as Lasaulx and Victor

⁴⁴ Quoted by H. Stuart Hughes, *Oswald Spengler* (New York, 1952), 87.

⁴⁵ Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (12 vols., New York, 1934-61). Volume XII is of special interest for our topic, since here he has attempted to answer his critics. See also *The Intent of Toynbee's History*, ed. Edward Gargan (Chicago, 1961).

⁴⁶ Alfred Weber, *Kulturgeschichte als Kultursoziologie* (Munich, 1950).

⁴⁷ Karl Jaspers, *The Origin and Goal of History*, tr. Michael Bullock (New Haven, Conn., 1953).

von Strauss, but his basic thesis loses little of its originality for that. It consists of the assertion that an axis of world history does exist, that it came into being in a period which Jaspers christens the "axial period." This axis, he maintains, is to be found at that point in history "which gave birth to everything man has become since then—the point most overwhelmingly fruitful in fashioning humanity." Its character would have to be, if not empirically cogent and evident, at least so convincing to empirical insight as to give rise to a common frame of historical self-comprehension for all peoples—for the West, for Asia, and for all men on earth, without regard to particular articles of faith.

"It would seem that this axis is to be located somewhere near the period of 500 B.C., in the spiritual process that took place between 800 B.C. and 200 B.C. It is there that we meet with the most deeply cleft dividing line in history."⁴⁸ Jaspers next explains what inspired his concept of the axial period. In this period Confucius and Lao-tse were living in China; India produced the Upanishads and Buddha; Zarathustra taught in Persia; in Palestine the great Hebrew prophets made their appearance; in Greece Hellenic culture came into its own. "What is new about this age, in all three areas of the world, is that man becomes conscious of Being as a whole, of himself and his limitations."⁴⁹

Jaspers inquires into the historical reasons for the events of the axial period and for its meaning. He does not assert its existence as a certainty, but merely as a workable hypothesis. It is impossible to discuss its implications within the framework of this paper. Like other hypotheses of this kind, it offers considerable difficulties, but it also illuminates a most remarkable "coincidence" in human history, and it would allow us to combine the theory of civilizations, as presented by Spengler and Toynbee, with the older linear interpretations of Hegel, Ranke, Comte, and Marx. Jaspers has drawn a family tree of human civilization from prehistory to the present, which deserves the most serious consideration.⁵⁰ It is obvious from his book that historians and philosophers have become conscious that what was once considered the "march of the world spirit," the dictum of Providence, or the final word of scientific progress, appears today as mere speculation, which must forever change with the changing times.

The classic interpretation of Western civilization that I have tried to present has a structural uniformity and a likeness of content in itself revealing the position in which the West found itself in relation to the rest of the

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁰ See esp. the diagram on p. 27.

world. The linear interpretation, the establishment of a single goal, the emphasis on science, on liberty, on reason, were certainly short cuts which precluded an unbiased appraisal of all that was non-European. Nevertheless, it must be freely admitted that only the Occidental civilization has gained for itself a position from which world history and European history could be considered as a corporate unit. Almost a century and a half have passed since Hegel wrote: "The Europeans have sailed around the world and for them it is a sphere. Whatever has not yet fallen under their sway is either not worth the trouble or is destined to fall under it." Such confidence seems sheer arrogance to our generation, yet we should not deny the grain of truth to be found therein.

Thus the task of redefining the traits of Western civilization in their relation to all that is non-Occidental remains with us. It may be truly said that only now will it be possible to write universal history. Raymond Aron has taken a first, hesitant step in this direction in his essay *The Dawn of Universal History*.⁵¹ "Never before," he writes, "have the so-called higher civilizations lived through the same history. For the first time, we can legitimately speak of 'human society.'" But he, like Jaspers, is cognizant of the uncertainty and vulnerability of any metahistorical hypothesis. Aron sees the common denominator on which universal history could be built in the process of industrialization, which is shared by the Western and Communist worlds alike and which seems to engulf the uncommitted nations as well. A similar idea is expressed by Adolf Rein, who writes, "The occidental cosmocracy [*Kosmokratie*] is based on a global interrelationship [*Weltverbundenheit*] in which for the first time the isolated nations and civilizations have been brought into an all encompassing interdependence." And he adds, "Only the Europeans have created world history."⁵² Rein fails to see, however, that this global unity presents the historian with a singular difficulty. Will the ecumenical sweep that draws the nations and civilizations of the world together give us a deeper understanding of distant cultures than we had achieved before? Some years ago I voiced the opinion that world history, embracing all the higher civilizations, could be tackled only by a generation of historians for whom the unity of the historical world had become an experienced and acknowledged destiny. There can be little doubt that such an experience is, if not yet an established fact, at least in the making. But we must ask to what extent will the great Oriental civilizations be susceptible

⁵¹ Raymond Aron, *The Dawn of Universal History*, tr. Dorothy Pickles (New York, 1961).

⁵² G. A. Rein, *Die europäische Ausbreitung über die Erde* (Potsdam, 1931), 5; see also Otto Brunner, "Abendländisches Geschichtsdenken," in *Neue Wege der Sozialgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1956), 168 ff.

to an interpretation by Western minds. We would fail utterly in our efforts at comprehension were we to project once again our own standards on cultural entities that have followed a different rhythm and different ethical and human standards. Nor is this all. Universal history can no longer follow the Christian pattern of the oneness of history which it has consciously or unconsciously applied for so long. It is not only the plurality of cultural developments which forces us to reconsider. There are also "vistas and values" presented by biology, anthropology, and prehistoric research which demand our attention.

Roderick Seidenberg, in a highly speculative book, has tried to integrate these vistas with the routine approach to history.⁵³ We may not be willing to follow him in the prophecy of "posthistoric man" that may eventually supplant historic man, but his reflections on the cumulative character of human civilization are worth pondering. They enhance similar ideas of Jaspers and Toynbee.

Thus it becomes clear that the naïve equation of Western civilization with world history has fallen by the wayside, being a characteristic product of the West in its development from 1750 to 1914. Nor should the new unity of world history based on industrialization and technocracy mislead us to assume that variety and plurality will cease to exist. World history in our time can only be undertaken as an attempt to interpret the "doings and undoings" of historic man in their totality. No one would deny that the task is awe-inspiring, but who could fail to admit the grandeur of such a view?

⁵³ Roderick Seidenberg, *Posthistoric Man* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1950), esp. 173-238.

Beyond Consensus: The Historian as Moral Critic

JOHN HIGHAM*

A PERENNIAL dilemma of historical scholarship is its need to use the resources of the present to discover what is not present, but past. The creative historian lives a double life, responsive on one side to the questions and issues of his own age, faithful on the other side to the integrity of an age gone by. Too feeble an involvement in the life of the present makes for a slack and routine grasp of the past. But present commitments that are too parochial imprison our imagination, instead of challenging it. At one extreme, historical thought is sterile, at the other tendentious. How can historians, by the strength of their detachment, rise above a constricting present, and, by the amplitude of their commitment, enter a living past?

If this is a perennial problem, it has a special pertinence for the American historian today. He usually works in a vast educational system that rewards its employees with prestige and security for predictable quantities of passionless research. The institutional setting, therefore, encourages much routine and mechanical history. On the other hand, the ideological conflicts of the twentieth century have, until now, swept many of our best historians in the opposite direction, entangling them in rather partisan commitments.

For a long time institutional restraints and ideological pressures seemed to offset and balance one another in a fairly effective way. The pull of neutrality and the push of commitment seemed enough adjusted to serve the pursuit of truth. As long as our present concerns remained fundamentally stable, a cumulative pattern of research could be observed. Conventional monographs followed easily in paths marked out by the major interpretive studies, and confidence in the progress of knowledge kept criticism within manageable bounds. Now, however, that working balance has been upset. The old ideological positions have broken down, so that the kind of present-mindedness that seemed to illuminate American history twenty years ago has largely outlived its usefulness. Many of the values and allegiances that guided our historical writing now seem unduly restrictive. There is, consequently, a danger and an opportunity: the danger of a largely negative scholarship, revisionist in motive but routine or merely clever in result; the opportunity of

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discovering, with the help of our newer present, a history of unsuspected richness and power.

Until very recently, two contemporary commitments dominated the interpretation of American history. First, many of the best American historians felt a close identification with particular sections or social groups. Secondly, progressive and pragmatic ideas had an extraordinary control over historical thinking. Both of these circumstances have altered.

In an increasingly homogeneous society, historians cannot be as urgently motivated by sectional, class, and ethnic ties as they were a quarter of a century ago. Then militant southerners, confident westerners, defiant Brahmins, and the first self-conscious representatives of various ethnic minorities were turning up facets of our history reflective of their claims or grievances and championing regionalism, Puritanism, or cultural pluralism, as the case might be. There is much less of this now. Younger scholars are not impelled to vindicate their respective subjects as ardently as Samuel Eliot Morison championed the Puritans, Walter Prescott Webb, the Great Plains, Carl Wittke, the immigrants, or Ulrich B. Phillips and E. Merton Coulter, the South.¹ One wonders how these various groupings in the American past will look to a new generation of historians, which is not anchored very securely in any of them.

While social changes were eroding the group loyalties of many historians, their generally progressive assumptions about American history were also breaking down. The two trends worked together. Just as progressive assumptions encouraged scholars to emphasize the struggle of contending groups in society, so the reaction against progressive historiography has discouraged such emphasis and has undermined the intellectual foundations of a group-centered point of view. We may, therefore, get to the heart of our current problem and opportunity when we understand what has happened to the progressive school of American historians.

From the American Revolution to the Second World War the great majority of our historians assumed that the underlying movement of American history was in the direction of improvement or betterment, not only in wealth but in freedom or happiness. In this movement, setbacks and even reverses had occurred, of course, when the American people were temporarily faith-

¹ Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Puritan Presence: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New England in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1936); Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston, 1931); Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York, 1939); Ulrich B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929); E. Merton Coulter, *The South during Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, La., 1947). Negro historians and students of labor history seem also increasingly irenic; even business history may be losing an apologetic tone.

less to their basic principles. Such interludes were pronounced "Repressible Conflicts," "Great Aberrations," or "Great Betrayals,"² to indicate that they arose from mutual misunderstandings, irrational mistakes, and moral holidays, not from any fundamental defect in American culture. Even the fashionable disillusion of the 1920's left very little impress on professional historians. A President of the American Historical Association affirmed a law of progress in history in 1923, and in 1929 a leading authority on American social history urged his colleagues to synthesize their data by asking how every event or influence had checked or accelerated social evolution.³ Attitudes such as these meant that historians were continually asking what each period "contributed" or "added" to the world of today. History was fundamentally aggregative, and even scholars devoted to the study of lost causes and vanished frontiers refused to draw pessimistic conclusions. They felt sure that the passing experience they cherished had left a permanent heritage of fruitful values.⁴

In the twentieth century these pervasive assumptions gave a strategic importance to historians who had a hardheaded explanation of the dynamics of change—historians who rendered the progressive faith realistically by explaining how and why human effort sometimes overcame human inertia and sometimes succumbed to it. Change, these scholars said, takes place through struggle, and progress occurs when the more popular and democratic forces overcome the resistance to change offered by vested interests. And so American history became a story of epic conflict between over- and underprivileged groups. Whether this strife was chiefly between sections, as with Frederick Jackson Turner, or between opposing economic groups, as with Charles Beard, or between Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian ideologies, as with Vernon Parrington, a fundamental dualism cut through the course of American history.⁵

In polarizing history vertically, the progressive realists also secured a principle of periodization. With eyes focused on the climactic moments in the continuing struggle, they dramatized the turning points when power had presumably shifted from one side to the other. Through revolution and

² Avery Craven, *The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861* (Baton Rouge, La., 1939); Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, 1950), 463-75; Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (New York, 1945).

³ Edward P. Cheyney, *Law in History and Other Essays* (New York, 1927), 22-24; Dixon Ryan Fox, "A Synthetic Principle in American Social History," *American Historical Review*, XXXV (Jan. 1930), 256-66.

⁴ Frederick Paxson, *When the West Is Gone* (Boston, 1930).

⁵ The economic interpretation of history, Charles A. Beard wrote in 1913, "rests upon the concept that social progress in general is the result of contending interests in society—some favorable, others opposed to change." (*An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* [rev. ed., New York, 1935], 19.)

counterrevolution, through reform and reaction, beat the rhythm of an exciting and meaningful history. Here indeed was a grand design, flexible, capacious, immediately relevant to the present interests of the 1920's and 1930's, capable of elaboration in a multitude of researches, yet simple in outline. In 1939 Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., could compress a generation of historiography and the whole span of American political history into a single sentence: "A period of concern for the rights of the few has [regularly] been followed by one of concern for the wrongs of the many."⁶

Twenty years later, to most American historians, the grand design probably looked more like a grand illusion. Many of them in the 1950's had devoted their best energies to shattering the design. It had, without question, proved wanting. Too much of the mounting data of cultural, intellectual, and economic history overflowed the dialectical categories of liberal versus conservative. The groups to whom these labels were attached proved much less persistent and cohesive in identity and aim than the design allowed. The theory that change is effected through domestic social conflict took too little account of the role of accommodation and compromise in American political history, too little account of the kind of innovation emphasized in American business history, too little account of the international influences so important to diplomatic and intellectual history.

Yet the design might have held together after a fashion—by stretching and squeezing, it might have contained a good measure of new research—if the social attitudes that went into the design had remained intact. After World War II, however, historians found themselves in a new era, much less tractable and less responsive to progressive values. Some of those values now seemed too simple and too limited in their relevance to human experience. The vaunted realism of the progressive historians no longer seemed realistic enough.

As far as historians were concerned, one of the principal casualties of the postwar world was the faith in progress itself. Few of them became prophets of doom, but fewer still remained oracles of hope. Their disenchantment owed something to the powerful polemic of Reinhold Niebuhr but more to their own sharpened awareness of America's dependence on a precarious civilization. Walter Prescott Webb's *The Great Frontier* (Boston, 1952), although too extreme in its conclusions to win general acceptance, showed how an international perspective could cast a somber light on the epic theme of American progress: the frontier thesis became an explanation of

⁶ Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., "Tides of American Politics," *Yale Review*, XXIX (Dec. 1939), 220.

the temporary and declining vitality of modern Western civilization. Other postprogressive scholars, such as George Kennan, studied American wars and diplomacy with an eye for the tragic and with a sense of the limits of American capacities.⁷ The revisionist school of Civil War history declined when its thesis that partisan statesmen had willfully ignored constructive alternatives to a "needless" war and a "vindictive" peace began to look naïvely optimistic.⁸

Perhaps the most widespread effect of the sober postwar mood was to deflate progressive confidence in social change. Instead of endorsing change, or distinguishing between more and less desirable kinds of change, many historians grew cautious if not distrustful toward change as such. In the work of Ralph Gabriel, Clinton Rossiter, Louis Hartz, Daniel Boorstin, Robert E. Brown, Edmund Morgan, and others, a new appreciation of continuity in American history emerged. Neither in love with modernity nor entranced by the antique, many historians now emphasized the enduring uniformities of American life, the stability of institutions, the persistence of a national character.⁹

Thus, a conservative trend of historical interpretation set in, and as it gathered momentum it displayed other attitudes often found in conservative quarters. In contrast to the progressive historians' confidence in mass democracy, one notices among historians today a skeptical attitude toward the common man and a reluctance to give full sympathy to the underdog. Such democratic heroes as Roger Williams, Nathaniel Bacon, Andrew Jackson, and Thorstein Veblen are now portrayed as less democratic or less heroic than earlier biographers saw them.¹⁰ On the other hand, such nondemocratic

⁷ George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy 1900-1950* (Chicago, 1951).

⁸ The gradual revision, since World War II, of Avery Craven's revisionism has often been remarked upon. See T. N. Bonner, "Civil War Historians and the Needless War Doctrine," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVII (Apr. 1956), 193-216.

⁹ Ralph Gabriel's *The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History Since 1815* (New York, 1940) anticipated a point of view that has become much more common since World War II in books such as Clinton Rossiter's *Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty* (New York, 1953), Louis Hartz's *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution* (New York, 1955), Robert E. Brown's *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955), and Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan's *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1953). Perhaps the most provocative analysis of the "togetherness" of American society and the continuity of American history is Daniel J. Boorstin's *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York, 1958). See also David Potter's interpretation of the unifying influence of economic abundance in American history, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago, 1954). I have criticized this trend at greater length in "The Cult of the 'American Consensus': Homogenizing Our History," *Commentary*, XXVII (Feb. 1959), 93-100, an article from which some of the remarks in the next few paragraphs are drawn.

¹⁰ Allan Simpson, "How Democratic Was Roger Williams?" *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIII (Jan. 1956), 53-67; Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1957); Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics*

figures as John Winthrop, Alexander Hamilton, Nicholas Biddle, George Fitzhugh, and John D. Rockefeller have risen several notches in historical reputation.¹¹

This shift away from democratic affirmations should not be exaggerated. It has not, among many reputable historians, made heroes of the privileged and villains of their popular opponents. Such a reversal of progressive sympathies would preserve the progressive dichotomy between the many and the few, the haves and the have-nots. The deeper tendency in contemporary thought is to dissolve the old polarities. Skeptical especially of economic and ideological antitheses, historians nowadays are blending them together. Where the terms liberal and conservative still remain in use, we are finding that liberal movements were after all conservative¹² and that almost all Americans have really been liberal.¹³ Instead of the two-sided nation enshrined in progressive history—a nation eternally divided between a party of the past and a party of the future, between noble ideals and ignoble interests—recent general interpretations show us a single homogeneous culture, or perhaps a balanced interplay between three elements. The trinitarian approach lends itself neatly to a reconciliation of contrasts within a final synthesis.¹⁴ Not conflict, therefore, but consensus is now taken as the normative reality of American life.

It is not hard to understand why this should be so. Unlike the progressive historian, his conservative successor does not feel much at odds with powerful institutions or dominant social groups. He is not even half alienated. Carried along in the general postwar reconciliation between America and its intellectuals, and wanting to identify himself with a community, he usually reads

in *America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, N. J., 1957); David Riesman, *Thorstein Veblen: A Critical Interpretation* (New York, 1953).

¹¹ Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston, 1958); Broadus Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton, Youth to Maturity, 1755-1788* (New York, 1957); Thomas P. Gowan, *Nicholas Biddle, Nationalist and Public Banker* (Chicago, 1959); C. Vann Woodward, "George Fitzhugh, *Sui Generis*," in *Cannibals All!* by George Fitzhugh (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), vii-xxxix; Allan Nevins, *Study in Power: John D. Rockefeller* (2 vols., New York, 1953).

¹² Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (New York, 1955); Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion* (Stanford, Calif., 1957); Cecelia Kenyon, "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XII (Jan. 1955), 3-43.

¹³ Hartz, *Liberal Tradition*.

¹⁴ For example: Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (New York, 1955); R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1955); Gabriel, *Course of American Democratic Thought*. In sketching another version of the unity of American history, William B. Hesseltine has adopted a quadruple rather than a triple calculus. See his presidential address, "Four American Traditions," *Journal of Southern History*, XXVII (Feb. 1961), 3-32.

the national record for evidence of effective organization and a unifying spirit.¹⁵

Often the strength of this uniformitarian bent is obscured by the conservative historian's delighted attention to the abundant variety of American life. Far from professing any love of conformity, he may conceive of the American whole as an infinite number of freely related parts.¹⁶ In his more critical moments, he may fear that the processes of centralization, bureaucratization, and standardization are going too far today, and he embraces the variations and complexities in American experience all the more readily because they seem to him so innocuous and impermanent. He discovers an immense variety of economic interests represented at Philadelphia in 1787, instead of only two. In restudying the Second Bank of the United States, Reconstruction, or the progressive movement, he fragments into a welter of factions what the progressive historian had thought of as "the business community."¹⁷ Immersed in fluid experience, he is often quite pragmatic in his antipathy to formal ideologies and clearly defined categories. His sense of the unity of America, therefore, is largely unspecific and rests on a description of its multiplicity. His motto is *e pluribus unum*.

That this general approach to American history contains a large measure of truth, few will deny. Having much in common with our national mythology, it induces sympathies that are perhaps more general and less partisan than those of the progressive school. Although suffused by present attitudes, the historian of consensus is not involved so immediately and urgently in the struggles of his own time; he may be able more easily to project himself into the past on something like its own terms. The desire to see things whole, in the sense of understanding the working relationships between groups, should prove especially useful in the study of social history, which for too long was preoccupied with reform movements and social problems.

Yet the positive achievements of the conservative school seem less impressive, to date, than its attack on the old progressive formulas. Has it produced any master works of great strength and enduring significance? Perhaps, if Allan Nevins' retelling of the Civil War belongs to this school; but it is significant that Nevins' work seems to derive from an older conservative

¹⁵ Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union* (2 vols., New York, 1959-), I, v; Rowland Berthoff, "The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis," *American Historical Review*, LXV (Apr. 1960), 495-514.

¹⁶ Boorstin, *The Americans*, 185-205.

¹⁷ Forrest McDonald, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1958); Hammond, *Banks and Politics*; Robert P. Sharkey, *Money, Class and Party: An Economic Study of Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baltimore, 1959); Robert H. Wiebe, "Business Disunity and the Progressive Movement, 1901-1914," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (Mar. 1958), 664-85.

culture and to owe little to the contemporary mood. Of the outstanding books of the last ten years some have retained a modified progressive outlook, like C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, La., 1951). Some have expressed a disillusioned liberalism, like Richard Hofstadter's *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (New York, 1955) and Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). The historians of consensus, on the other hand, have scored chiefly in restricted monographs or in highly generalized interpretive essays.

All in all, recent historians have been more successful in breaking down the interpretations of their predecessors than in building anew. The emphasis on consensus and continuity has softened the outlines and flattened the crises of American history. A certain tameness and amiability have crept into our view of things; perhaps the widespread interest in myths comes partly from a feeling that the realities are simply not as interesting. The conservative frame of reference is giving us a bland history, in which conflict is muted, in which the classic issues of social justice are underplayed, in which the elements of spontaneity, effervescence, and violence in American life get little sympathy or attention. Now that the progressive impulse is subsiding, scholarship is threatened with a moral vacuum.

To speak, perhaps extravagantly, of a moral vacuum is to raise afresh an old question that too many of us have regarded as long since settled. Since the rise of scientific history, the legitimacy of moral judgments in historical writing has been under official disapproval. By the end of the nineteenth century, the manuals of historical method had summarily banished moral evaluation from the proper sphere of historical science; the latest handbooks continue to ignore it.¹⁸ But the present cultural situation has reopened this question. From English and German scholars we begin to hear warnings that academic history, by shrinking from evaluations of right and wrong, has helped to weaken the spirit of personal responsibility.¹⁹ The warning applies

¹⁸ Charles V. Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History* (London, 1898), 279; Oscar Handlin *et al.*, *Harvard Guide to American History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); Jacques Barzun and Henry Graff, *The Modern Researcher* (New York, 1958). One exception is Allan Nevins, *The Gateway to History* (Boston, 1938), 235—a book written with unprofessional gusto and addressed to a wide audience.

¹⁹ Isaiah Berlin, *Historical Inevitability* (London, 1954); Friedrich Meinecke, "Values and Causalities in History," *The Varieties of History*, ed. Fritz Stern (New York, 1956), 267-88; C. V. Wedgwood, *Truth and Opinion: Historical Essays* (London, 1960), 47-54; David Knowles, *The Historian and Character* (Cambridge, Eng., 1955); A. J. P. Taylor, *Rumours of Wars* (London, 1952), 9-13. The most cogent arguments on the other side of the issue—denying to the professional historian an ethical function—are also by Europeans: Herbert Butterfield, *History and Human Relations* (London, 1951), 101-30; Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (New York, 1953), 139-41; Geoffrey Barraclough, "History, Morals, and Politics," *International Affairs*, XXXIV (Jan. 1958), 1-15. A valuable essay by an American philosopher, defending

with special force to the current state of American historiography. With the decline of progressive values, the principal source of moral energy on which American historians have drawn in recent decades is drying up. There is no substitute in the complacent empiricism of the conservative school. Yet the present situation offers a third alternative. We have today a major opportunity for revitalizing the moral relevance of historical scholarship.

Until history became professionalized, its practitioners felt no misgivings about teaching moral lessons. History, to them, exhibited universal laws of human nature and so comprised a vast repository of political and moral example. The nineteenth-century faith in progress put a supreme confidence into such moralizing; for the historian's assumption that he stood at the summit of history, and could therefore truly judge the actions and standards of earlier times by those of his own, expunged any doubt about his moral authority. He might exercise it with advantage in any field of history, although the study of one's own country was particularly improving. "That study," said the president of Harvard University in 1884, summing up a common conviction,

shows the young the springs of public honor and dishonor; sets before them the national failings, weaknesses, and sins; warns them against future dangers by exhibiting the losses and sufferings of the past; enshrines in their hearts the national heroes; and strengthens in them the precious love of country.²⁰

The same year in which Charles W. Eliot spoke, the American Historical Association was established by men who were retreating from moral commitment in the name of science. The scientific historian aspired to be a flawless mirror reflecting an independent, external reality. By freely pronouncing judgments he would distort the picture. Yet the scientific historians, in denying themselves a judicial function, did not intend to lessen history's didactic usefulness. Secure in their faith in progress, they commonly supposed that objective history would reveal the evolution of morality in the march of events without intrusive comment by the writer.²¹ Surely, over the

the exercise of moral judgment by historians, came to my attention too late for use in this paper: Arthur Child, "Moral Judgment in History," *Ethics: An International Journal of Social, Political, and Legal Philosophy*, LXI (July 1951), 297-308.

²⁰ Charles W. Eliot, *Educational Reform: Essays and Addresses* (New York, 1909), 104-106.

²¹ Henry C. Lea, "Ethical Values in History," *Annual Report, American Historical Association*, 1903 (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1904), I, 53-69. This was the classic rebuttal, by an American scientific historian, to Lord Acton's famous protest in 1895 against the prevailing spirit of scientific neutrality: "I exhort you . . . to try others by the final maxim that governs your own lives, and to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong." On this controversy, see Andrew Fish, "Acton, Creighton, and Lea: A Study in History and Ethics," *Pacific Historical Review*, XVI (Feb. 1947), 59-69, and John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power*, ed. Gertrude Himmelfarb (London, 1956), 41-52, 329-45.

long run, history displayed the gradual advance of wisdom and virtue. If the historian took care of the facts, the values would take care of themselves. In practice, of course, the early professional historians could not suppress moral rhetoric completely, but they could in principle forswear it without any sense of risk or anxiety, since scientific history emerged in America in a humane milieu, unperplexed by deep frustrations.

The new style progressives of the twentieth century, rebelling against the conservative implications of scientific history, were less complacent. They were activists, whose expectations of progress depended on the use of historical knowledge in order to control history. They felt less comfortable about the present than their conservative predecessors had, and they determined to link the past to current needs for reform.²² They recognized a legitimate place for values in historical interpretation. By renouncing an unattainable objectivity, they hoped to arrive at usable truths.

In progressive hands American history became not only a struggle between the many and the few but a realm of clashing values. Once more, the American historian consciously played the role of moral critic, now with a pragmatic emphasis on the consequences of policies and ideas, instead of the easy dogmatism of a George Bancroft or a Francis Parkman. Unfortunately, however, the restoration of moral urgency in historical scholarship occurred on too narrow a front and too precarious a basis. The same progressive spirit that stirred the heart and conscience of historians also, in other aspects, severely limited their moral vision. For one thing, the range of moral concern contracted from the whole life of man to certain political and economic issues. The progressive historian did not ordinarily search the past for light on personal codes of behavior, the great sphere of private as opposed to public morality. Nor did he show much interest in studying the resolution of incompatible loyalties, or the nature of responsibility, greatness, initiative, and the like. His view of history remained largely impersonal: he concentrated on "social forces" as the earlier scientific historians had concentrated on "institutions." The only kind of ethics that engaged the progressive historian's interest was the ethics of democracy,²³ and even here he was pretty exclusively concerned with the actualization of democratic values rather than their relation to other goods.

This tendency to dwell on means rather than ends—on the attainable results of an ideal rather than its intrinsic nature—reflected the progressive

²² Frederick Jackson Turner, "Social Forces in American History," in *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 323–32; James Harvey Robinson, *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York, 1912).

²³ For a parallel trend among philosophers, see Jay William Hudson, "Recent Shifts in Ethical Theory and Practice," *Philosophical Review*, XLIX (Mar. 1940), 105–20.

scholar's reluctance to venture much beyond the accustomed limits of scientific objectivity. He wanted his values, but he wanted them in the shape of facts. Tough-minded, realistic, disdainful of nineteenth-century pieties and platitudes, he tried to be pragmatic in his moral judgments. The practical results of any historical situation—the tangible action it produced—dominated and restricted his evaluation of it. Progressive historians ordinarily retained too much confidence in progress to doubt that the course of history would vindicate their democratic and pragmatic ethics.²⁴

From these antecedents, the younger conservative historians of today have come. While reacting against a reformist bias, some of them continue to measure the past by pragmatic standards. What remains for them of the moral function of the historian now that the inspiration of social progress has dimmed, and the age of reform that lasted for half a century has passed? Now that stability rather than change has become the national objective, what values can pass the pragmatic test? Only what is snugly enmeshed in the texture of American experience has clearly proved its practical worth. Deprived of an active commitment to progress, the pragmatic approach tends to endorse sheer success and survival. Having lost its critical edge, pragmatism has tended to deteriorate into retrospective piety.

On the other hand, the present situation can give rise to a very different kind of historical scholarship, a scholarship engaged in a more widely ranging and a subtler moral criticism than American professional historians have yet undertaken. A lively critical impulse has clearly survived in many quarters. It is seeking a new field of expression now that the grand design of progressive historiography no longer contains and directs it. That impulse can draw today on a richer knowledge of human motivation than scholars have ever had at their disposal before; it can achieve a sympathetic understanding of a greater variety of human types. Having learned something of the relativity of values, today's historians can exercise a morally critical function with tentativeness and humility, with a minimum of self-righteousness, and with a willingness to meet the past on equal terms.

How can this come about? Let us look first at the pitfalls to be avoided; here the record of American historiography to date can guide us. None of the formal postures that American historians have conventionally adopted seem adequate today, either morally or historically. Neither the dogmatic moralist, nor the pure scientist, nor the pragmatist offers a satisfactory model.

²⁴ Although beset by such doubts in the 1930's, Beard fell back on an ultimate "act of faith" that history was moving "on an upward gradient toward a more ideal order." (Charles A. Beard, "Written History as an Act of Faith," *American Historical Review*, XXXIX [Jan. 1934], 226.)

Surely scholars may not, without corrupting history, revert to the judicial stance of a century ago. We are now too well aware of the wide disparities between ethical systems, and too ignorant of their relation to one another, to impose our own arbitrarily on another time and place. Let us beware of the easy temptations of moral judgment in essaying the difficult adventure of moral criticism. Let us operate on any subject with a conviction of its dignity and worth. Let us grant to every actor in a moral drama the fullest measure of his particular integrity; let us not destroy the drama by hastening to condemn or to absolve. The serious historian may not wrap himself in judicial robes and pass sentence from on high; he is too much involved in both the prosecution and the defense. He is not a judge of the dead, but rather a participant in their affairs, and their only trustworthy intermediary.

For these tasks, the moral neutrality of the scientific position has likewise proved wanting. In addition to the standard complaints—that it is unattainable, that it dehumanizes history, that it encourages fatalism and gives us nothing to admire—one may suggest a further difficulty. Scientific history, so far as it achieves neutrality, leaves an unbridged gulf between the subject and the reader. The scientific historian, in liberating his readers from moral absolutism, apparently assumed that they could make their own fair and independent judgments if given an unobstructed view of the past. On principle, therefore, the scientific historian did not address himself to the sensibilities of a particular audience. He did not deliberately connect its needs and perplexities with those of another time and place. Indeed, he was scarcely conscious of having an audience. Whereas the historical judge coerced the reader, the historical scientist ignored him. To write as a critic, however, is to assume an active responsibility both to a phase of the past and to a contemporary public, and to engage one with the other.

Our third model—the historical pragmatist—more nearly approximates that kind of role. He is very much aware of present needs, and his pronouncements are tentative and undogmatic. But his sympathies are limited, and his criticism does not go deep. Criteria that rest on a program of practical action take account of a restricted present as well as a restricted past. A morality confined to social engineering emphasizes results at the expense of intentions. In a progressive age, it becomes a partisan in the struggle for results. In a conservative age, it celebrates results already largely achieved.

Once the pragmatic test is suspended, historians will still analyze the results of a situation in order to discover its causes and to learn how those particular results came to be, but a moral appraisal of the situation need not depend upon its outcome. A truly sensitive critic will go beyond the practical

consequences of the process he describes. He may criticize his subject, not on the ground of its present relevance, but for its intrinsic value as a gesture of the human spirit.

One may well ask, however, for more specific directions. What strategies can the historian legitimately employ without compromising the integrity of his craft? What criteria may he apply in performing the office of moral critic? How much real change in historical scholarship is implied? These questions lead us into an aspect of historiography ignored by the standard manuals and treatises on method. Discussion has not ordinarily gone beyond the point of recognizing that the historian's own values inevitably color his writing. At best, we have acknowledged this coloring as a mark of our humanity.²⁵ Professional historians have hardly begun to consider moral insight as something they can gain by skilled and patient historical study, not merely as something they cannot keep out of it. Historical method acquires a new dimension when we begin to speak of the criticism of life in addition to the technical criticism of documents. Then moral evaluation becomes a professional task, not just a predilection of our unprofessional selves.

A comparison with analogous developments in literary studies during the last generation may help to clarify the present opportunity in historical scholarship. The reign of the literary historian—exclusively preoccupied with historical and biographical backgrounds to literature, with sources, influences, and social conditions—was challenged by the incursion of literary critics into academic circles.²⁶ Various schools of literary criticism proliferated, but all subordinated factual description and historical explanation to a close evaluation of the work of art. For a time, criticism went to absurdly antihistorical extremes; English departments split into factions—literary historians versus New Critics. But the ferment invigorated literary history enormously; in the hands of men like F. O. Matthiessen, Lionel Trilling, and Harry Levin, the study of literature profited from the interplay of critical and historical perspectives.

Possibly the professional study of history would benefit at least as much from the challenge of a similar movement, directed at the criticism of life rather than the criticism of art. On this analogy, we may look forward to something more noteworthy than the recent fruitless debate over the legitimacy of those present-centered judgments that inescapably condition all historical knowledge. Instead, we may look forward to the development of a partial distinction between the kind of historical inquiry that is familiar and

²⁵ Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History* (New York, 1950), 10–13.

²⁶ René Wellek, "Literary Scholarship," in *American Scholarship in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Merle Curti (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 111–45.

traditional and a newer kind that is only beginning to appear in professional circles. The older type aims chiefly at knowledge of causal relationships in a particular phase of the past; the newer type aims chiefly at knowledge of the elements of good and evil discoverable in a particular historical setting. The former type holds moral appraisal in check in the interest of causal synthesis. The latter type, with equal propriety, subordinates causal interpretation to moral interpretation. Both endeavors will inevitably reflect the historian's own commitments. Both must accept the distinctively historical obligation to deal with a whole situation in its authentic complexity. But causal history should have a form appropriate to the actual *course* of experience; whereas moral history, proceeding with a similar drive for discovery, will take whatever shape seems best suited to elaborate the problematical *qualities* of experience.

This distinction, like any classification of historical studies, should not be pressed too far, though it can serve some useful purposes. It calls attention to the need for a thoroughgoing moral criticism, in contrast to the impressionistic moral judgments that creep into historical writing at every turn. A working distinction between causal history and moral history also guards against pragmatic confusion between facts and values. Moreover, it helps to equalize the legitimacy and importance of two great objectives: the reconstruction of history as objective reality (most appropriate to causal history), and the participation in history as subjective experience (essential to moral history).²⁷ Causal history and moral history at their best, however, are reciprocal modes of understanding, each of which suffers from neglect of the other. Let us distinguish between them as friendly rivals in order to overcome a destructive enmity.

A closer look at the nature of moral history will suggest how it can supplement and enrich existing scholarship. One may discern, within the wide domain of moral history, two general types. The first type deals with the whole quality of a life, a complex of lives, or an age. It enables us to grasp the moral tone of a particular time and place—to feel the involuntary drift and pressure of its values against a background of alternatives delivered in other times and places. How has the notion of honor changed since the Middle Ages? What did men mean in the nineteenth century when they spoke of “character” and put implicit confidence in leaders or associates who had it? To what sorts of people did the virtue of “character” appeal and attach? What tangled combinations of courage and weakness, or of love and

²⁷ For a balanced summary of these competing views of history, see W. H. Walsh, *An Introduction to Philosophy of History* (rev. ed., London, 1958).

hate, do we find pervading a career, a movement, or a period? Similarly, moral insight may reveal fundamental polarities in history that are more illuminating than class or sectional divisions. Is the great cleavage in American history the outward one between haves and have-nots, which twentieth-century progressives observed in society, or is it rather an inward opposition, which progressives strove to reconcile within themselves, between an ethic of communal responsibility and an ethic of unrestrained individualism?

These questions point to an extended kind of moral history that shades imperceptibly into causal history, and differs only in having somewhat more interest in the intrinsic meaning of the experience and somewhat less in explaining its development. Professional historians seem to be venturing increasingly into this genre, though more readily in casual essays than in their formal, full-dress works. Carl Becker was probably the first American professional historian to become adept at an intellectualized moral history, which may help to account for his great and continuing vogue in recent years. It remains true, however, that the major works of this kind are still written mostly by literary and cultural critics like Wilbur J. Cash, Hannah Arendt, and Lewis Mumford.²⁸ The amateur in history plunges instinctively and often rashly into moral criticism. A quickened interest among professional scholars would surely help academic history to find its rightful place in the republic of letters.

A second kind of moral history concentrates on particular acts of choice. Here we confront not involuntary or cumulative processes, but rather the moments of important human initiative, and we ponder the moral responsibility of the agents of decision. In the 1760's the British Parliament adopted a disastrous policy of spasmodic coercion toward the American colonies. A generation ago American scholars debated the constitutionality of that policy, and British scholars are still arguing about the exact nature of English government at the time;²⁹ but the momentous decision that precipitated the American Revolution has not yet had close attention as a problem in political ethics. Given the political and social institutions of the day, what real alter-

²⁸ Wilbur J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York, 1941); Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago, 1958); Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York, 1961). Two recent efforts by professional historians are C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, La., 1960), and William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (New York, 1961).

²⁹ Charles H. McIlwain, *The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation* (New York, 1923), and Robert L. Schuyler, *Parliament and the British Empire* (New York, 1929); Herbert Butterfield, *George III and the Historians* (London, 1957). A reviewer of the last book observed: "It is perhaps the strangest thing of all to find so impressive a controversy reared on the insoluble, and to some extent uninteresting question of what exactly were the relationships between George III, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Earl of Bute in the years following 1760." (*Times Literary Supplement*, Nov. 22, 1957.)

natives were present? Who erred most culpably? What balance of folly, insight, and constructive purpose can we discern in each of the major participants?³⁰ The study of moral responsibility remains crude unless each of the elements contributory to a situation fully exhibits its distinctive abilities, limitations, and dilemmas. Ideally, each element should effect a criticism of the others. As the author's design unfolds, the situation becomes luminous with unexpected contingencies.

In similar fashion it should be possible to study afresh the turning points in the lives of well-known individuals: Robert E. Lee's painful decision to cast his lot with the Confederacy in 1861, William James's famous affirmation of free will in 1870, Franklin D. Roosevelt's acceptance of a third term in 1940. Seizing upon the event, the historian can undertake to clarify the degree and quality of initiative suggested by a close comparison with other individuals similarly circumstanced (James with Henry Adams, for example), and by analyzing the other choices that might conceivably have been made.

In all such studies of an act of decision, as in larger studies of the moral climate, criticism cannot do without some causal analysis. We hold people responsible only to the degree that we think them free to choose their course. The imaginable range of choice within a particular situation guides our moral criticism, which must therefore include an appreciation of the unalterable conditions that bulk large in causal history. Yet moral criticism not only borrows from causal analysis, but also contributes to it. By enlarging our awareness of the latent possibilities of a situation, criticism will suggest new causal hypotheses. Perhaps it would be better to speak, not of causal history and moral history as separate types, but of two kinds of attention, each of which contributes to historical wisdom.

There remains the difficult question of the criteria that the critic of the past may legitimately employ. Surely one must have standards. Just as surely, the only proper standards are ones common to the historian and to the world he is studying. But to try to lay down exact criteria is, I think, to misconceive our opportunity and to narrow our prospect. The historian is not called to establish a hierarchy of values, but rather to explore a spectrum of human potentialities and achievements. While maintaining his own integrity, while preserving the detachment that time and distance afford, he must participate in variety, allowing his subjects as much as possible to criticize one another. In fact, the obligation of the historian to become a moral critic grows out of the breakdown of ethical absolutes. If no single ethical system, even a prag-

³⁰ For an unusual and pioneering inquiry of this kind, see Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1960).

matic one that trusts the piecemeal results of history, does justice to all situations, a complex awareness must take the place of systematic theory. Instead of depending on fixed canons or rules, the moral critic must learn from the great dramatists, like Shakespeare, from novelists, like Tolstoy, and from the matchless example of Thucydides.

In the simplest sense, the historian commits to moral criticism all the resources of his human condition. He derives from moral criticism an enlarged and disciplined sensitivity to what men ought to have done, what they might have done, and what they achieved. His history becomes an intensive, concrete reflection upon life, freed from academic primness, and offering itself as one of the noblest, if also one of the most difficult and imperfect, of the arts.

This discussion, instead of continuing the current argument about the interpretation of American history, has turned outward toward a wider horizon. But perhaps the original issue has undergone a partial resolution. When the historian's quest for understanding reaches beyond pragmatic and empirical concerns, he need not strain to find patterns of conflict or of consensus. He will have plenty of both. He will study, as the most meaningful kind of consensus, the moral standards of an age—what, distinctively, it assumed about the conduct of life. He will find conflict wherever those moral standards clash or break down, and so force men to make a choice. In confronting all that is unstable and precarious in human values, he can discover the profoundest struggles and conflicts that the drama of history affords.

Historians and the Problem of Early American Democracy

J. R. POLE*

THE earliest national period of United States history combines two themes. It is a period of revolution and also of constitution making. Charter governments, whether royal or proprietary, give way to new governments which claim to derive the whole of their authority from the American electorate. The Americans, though working from experience, build for the future. This fact is of cardinal importance for any attempt to understand their work or the state of mind in which it was undertaken.

The claim of the new government raises a problem that was not solved by the mere exercise of effective, but revolutionary powers. Was their authority strictly compatible with the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed? What was meant by "consent"? How was such consent obtained or certified?

The attempt to answer these questions leads the historian into a reconstruction of the character of these early institutions and an inquiry into the ideas by which they were governed. In the light of subsequent American development, it has led historians to address themselves to the problem of deciding whether or not these institutions were democratic. Whether or not we choose to adopt this particular definition, whether or not we regard it as a useful tool of analysis, the underlying problem is one that the historian cannot easily avoid. No history of the American Revolution and of constitution making could be written without discussion of the doctrines on which the Americans based their resistance, the question of what meaning these doctrines bore for the different American participants, and of the degree of participation, the attitude and purposes of different elements in American society.

There is a problem of the relationship of ideas to institutions; there is a previous problem of the ideas themselves. I do not think that the broad and undifferentiated use of the term "democracy" helps either to describe the institutions or to explain the ideas. I do not even think that our analysis of these

* Mr. Pole, Lecturer in American history at University College London and author of numerous articles, among them, "Representation and Authority in Virginia from the Revolution to Reform" (*Journal of Southern History*, XXIV [Feb. 1958]), is interested chiefly in early American history. This article was read in an earlier version at the April 1960 conference of the British Association for American Studies in Bristol.

matters will be much affected by the use of this concept. But the thesis has been advanced¹ that the American colonies were already full-fledged democracies before the American Revolution began, from which it follows that the cardinal principle of the Revolution was a defense of democratic institutions against royal or parliamentary tyranny. It is a thesis that has the advantage of an attractive simplicity, and it is one that can be supported by a good deal of evidence, especially if that evidence is read without much relation to the context of eighteenth-century political ideas. It also has the merit of providing the occasion, and in order that the argument should not go by default, the necessity of a more searching inquiry into the realities.

To use the word "democracy" is to raise, but not I think to solve, a problem of definition. And it is not an easy one. There is so little agreement about what is meant by "democracy," and the discussion has such a strong tendency to slide noiselessly from what we *do* mean to what we *ought* to mean, that for purposes of definition it seems to be applicable only in the broadest sense. And this sense has the effect of limiting, rather than of advancing, our understanding of the past.

But I must certainly admit that if I did think the word "democracy" in fact did justice to the problem, then I would have to accept it despite the risks involved. More than this: we ought to have some agreement as to what meaning it can be made to bear. It makes good sense in a purely comparative view to call the American colonies and early states democratic when contrasting them with the Prussia of Frederick II or the Habsburg Empire; they were in the same sense democratic compared with France or with England, with which they had so much in common. There might be less unintended irony in calling them part of the "free world" than in doing the same today with Spain, Formosa, or the Union of South Africa. In the broad strokes we use to differentiate between tyrannies and free states the term will serve as a starting point, but not as a conclusion. It is interesting, when one begins to look more closely at the structure of the complex societies of the eighteenth century, how rapidly these broad distinctions lose their value and cease to serve any analytical purpose. As R. R. Palmer has recently remarked, surveying the Western world before the French Revolution, "No one except a few disgruntled literary men supposed that he lived under a despotism."² When one considers how complex the machinery of administration, of justice, for the redress of grievances and, if any, of political representation must become in any ancient and intricately diversified so-

¹ Robert E. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955), esp. 401-408.

² R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* (Princeton, N. J., 1959), 51.

ciety, it is easy to feel that the more democratic virtues of the American societies were related, more than anything else, to their relative simplicity and lack of economic and functional diversity. But a closer inspection, not only of the structure, but of the development, of colonial institutions reveals a tendency that puts the matter in another light; for these institutions were unmistakably molded in the shape of English institutions and were conforming themselves, both socially and politically, to the conventions of the period.

The alternative view, which I want to suggest, does not confine itself merely to rejecting the "democratic" interpretation by putting in its place a flat, antidemocratic account of the same set of institutions. What it does, I think, is to see the democratic elements in their proper perspective by adding a further dimension without which the rest is flat, incomplete, and, for all its turbulence, essentially lifeless. This is the dimension of what Cecelia Kenyon has called "institutional thought."³

To take this view, one has to free oneself from a tendency that has become very difficult to resist. I mean the strong, though wholly anachronistic tendency to suppose that when people who were accustomed to ways and ideas which have largely disappeared into the past felt grievances against their government, they must necessarily have wanted to express their dissatisfaction by applying the remedies of modern democracy; and, again, that when their demands were satisfied, the aspirations thus fulfilled must have been modern, democratic aspirations.

The idea that the great mass of the common people might actually have given their consent to concepts of government that limited their own participation in ways completely at variance with the principles of modern democracy is one that lies completely outside the compass or comprehension of the "democratic" interpretation. That interpretation insists on the all-importance of certain democratic features of political life, backed by certain egalitarian features of social life having a strong influence on political institutions. What it misses is that these features belonged within a framework which—to polarize the issue at the risk of using another broad term—was known to the world as Whiggism. The institutions of representative government derived from the time when the Whig concept of representative government was being worked out in England and, both by extension and by original experience, in the American colonies (and when the foundations were laid for the Whig interpretation of history). Even where democratic elements were strong and dominant, the animating ideas belonged to a whole

³ Cecelia M. Kenyon, "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XII (Jan. 1955), 4.

Whig world of both politics and society. More than this, the colonial and early national period in which they played so important a part was pervaded by a belief in and a sense of the propriety of social order guided and strengthened by principles of dignity on the one hand and deference on the other. It was, to use the term coined by Walter Bagehot in his account of Victorian England, a deferential society.⁴

There is, of course, nothing very new about the theory that early American society was relatively egalitarian and that this situation was reflected in political institutions and conduct. It was a view that became fashionable in the days of George Bancroft. But it has been reformulated, with formidable documentation, in Robert E. Brown's work on Massachusetts and in his attack on Charles Beard.⁵ To regain our perspective it seems necessary for a moment to go back to Beard.

Beard, as we know, distinguished in his study of the Constitution between two leading types of propertied interest, basically those of land and commerce. Commercial property was supposed to have been strongly represented in the Constitutional Convention, landed property outside. The opposition in some of the state ratifying conventions was supposed to have arisen from the outraged interests of the landed classes.

Despite intense opposition in certain states, the Constitution was eventually ratified. But here Beard went further. He asserted that ratification was not a true expression of the will of the people. He based this argument on the prevalence of property qualifications for the suffrage, which meant that only a minority of freeholders and other owners of property could participate in the elections to the ratifying conventions, which in consequence were not truly representative. There are two elements in Beard's hypothesis, as Brown has pointed out.⁶ On the one hand, Beard advances the alleged clash between the mercantile and landed interests, with the mercantile coming out on top because of the power conferred by its economic advantages; on the other, he implies the existence of a connection between the landed opposition to ratification and the supposedly disfranchised masses, whose silence so damagingly detracts from the authority of the Constitution. It is not my purpose to discuss the question as to whether Beard's argument has stood the test of recent scrutiny. Another aspect, which may be called that of the moral consequences of Beard's work, deserves more consideration than it has received.

⁴ See also E. S. Griffith, *History of American City Government: Colonial Period* (New York, 1938), 191; Clifford K. Shipton, review of Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy*, *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXI (No. 2, 1956), 306-308.

⁵ Robert E. Brown, *Charles Beard and the Constitution: A Critical Analysis of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution"* (Princeton, N. J., 1956).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 50-51, 53-55, 180-81, 194.

The Philadelphia Convention was described by Thomas Jefferson as "an assembly of demi-gods," a judgment to which posterity murmured "Amen." There are, however, marked disadvantages about being descended from demi-gods; they not only lack a sense of humor, but they set an appallingly high standard. What a relief it must have been, after the first shock of Beard's iconoclasm had died down, to find that they were only human after all! Beard had questioned the Constitution at two points. In the first place, by implying that it was the work of men motivated by private economic interests he made it possible to reconsider its wisdom and justice; but in the second place, when he denied that it had received the sanction of a genuine, popular ratification he made it possible—perhaps obligatory—to question the authority of the Constitution precisely because it did not owe its origin to the only recognized source of such authority in the whole science of government as understood in America: the consent of the governed.

To this problem, Brown's critique of Beard is directly relevant. He not only pursues Beard with a determination that recalls John Horace Round's pursuit of Edward Freeman, but in his work on Massachusetts, he makes a thorough and painstaking investigation of the institutions of that province, in which he reaches the conclusion that colonial Massachusetts was already so fully democratic that no case can be made for an interpretation of the American Revolution there in terms of an internal "class war." It is in this connection that Brown broadens his front to develop an attack on Carl Becker.⁷ The Revolution was a war of secession, fought for the preservation of American democracy against the antidemocratic policy of the crown. Nothing more, and nothing less. The joint foundations of all this are the wide extent of the suffrage franchise and the wide distribution of middling quantities of property.

The consequences are obvious. If the states, and not only the states but the colonies, were ruled by the consent of the governed, then Beard's unenfranchised masses disappear, and the Constitution is restored to its high place not only in the affection of the American people, but in their scale of approbation.

American history has been written not merely as the story of the people who went to, and lived in, America. It has been developed as the history of liberty. Innumerable books carry in their titles the message that colonial development was a progress toward liberty; since the Revolution, it has sometimes been possible to discern in accounts of American history a certain messianic quality, which some have felt to have been reflected periodically in

⁷ Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy*, Chap. iv.

American diplomacy. History written in this way frequently finds itself obliged to ask how a man, or a movement, stands in relation to the particular values for which American history is responsible. A recent study of Alexander Hamilton's place in the origins of political parties, for example, speaks of the need to determine Hamilton's "rightful place in our history."⁸ It becomes important, not just to write a man's biography or to assess his contribution, but to place him correctly on the eternal curve upon which American political performances seem to be graded.

The writing of history thus becomes a matter, not only of finding out what actually happened, but of judging the past. It is a process that cuts both ways. For earlier generations of Americans were keenly—almost disconcertingly—aware of the example they were setting for their descendants. (There is a town meeting entry in Massachusetts, in 1766, which calls the attention of future generations to the sacrifices the townsmen were making for their liberties.⁹) They knew that they would be judged. They were not only building institutions, they were setting standards, for the future. This can become a nerve-racking business. As has been remarked in a different connection (by a writer in the *Times Literary Supplement*) the past and the present seem to watch each other warily as from opposite boxes at the opera, each suspecting the other of being about to commit a *faux pas*.¹⁰

The two great instruments of American nationhood were the Revolution, with its banner, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution. Baptism and confirmation. It would be hard to imagine a more important commitment, not only for the interpretation of the American experience, but one might almost say for the emotional stability of the interpreter, than to place his own values in their proper relation to these events, or if that cannot be done, then to place these events in their proper relation to his values.

Accordingly, historians have brought the problem of values firmly into their assessment of history. They ask, "How democratic was early American society?" And they do not hesitate to reply, if their findings tell them so, that it was not democratic enough. Or, which is still more confusing, that it was struggling forward toward a fuller ideal of democracy. Accounts of this period repeatedly explain that such features of government as property qualifications for the suffrage and political office were still regarded as necessary

⁸ Joseph E. Charles, "Hamilton and Washington," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XII (Apr. 1955), 226. A further example in connection with Hamilton, whose career provokes this kind of judgment, is found in the title of Louis M. Hacker's *Alexander Hamilton in the American Tradition* (New York, 1957).

⁹ Lucius R. Paige, *A History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630-1877* (New York, 1883), 137.

¹⁰ "Imaginative Historians: Telling the News about the Past," *Times Literary Supplement*, *Special Supplement on The American Imagination*, Nov. 6, 1959.

at that time. "Still." These people had the right instincts; they were coming on nicely; but, unlike ourselves, they had not yet arrived.

There thus develops a tendency to adopt a completely anachronistic note of apology for the insufficiency of democratic principles in early American institutions.¹¹

I would like here to anticipate the objection that I am advocating that moral judgments should be taken out of historical writing. Neither do I deny that major developments can and ought to be traced to their minor origins. Moral judgments about the past are not necessarily anachronistic. It is not, I think, unhistorical to believe that some of the acts of treachery and cruelty or of violent aggression which comprise so great a proportion of recorded human activity were morally wrong, or even to maintain that they influenced the course of events for the worse. But when judgments of moral value are applied to complex social systems, they expose the judge to a peculiar danger of self-deception, perhaps even of self-incrimination. The historian must not only be careful, he must also be highly self-critical, when he embarks on assessments of the moral shortcomings of the past.

The reading of values into historical analysis is particularly liable to deception when the values of the present are themselves made the basis for the selection of materials, which are then judged in the light of the values in question. This may happen when the importance of different institutions or opinions is estimated on the basis of our own opinion of the role they ought to have played in their own time.

Without doubt there is a place for such judgments. There is a place for criticism of the Hanoverian House of Commons—rather a large place. But when we discuss that body our task is not that of apologizing for the fact that the bright light of nineteenth-century democracy had not yet broken on such persons as Pitt or Burke or Shelburne or Fox. Our problem, as I understand it, is that of reconstructing the inner nature of political society in their age and of asking how far Parliament answered the needs of that society, and how far it did not. And that is a matter of what history was actually about, not what it ought to have been about. The historian has a responsibility to the past, but it is not that of deciding within what limits he can recommend it to the approbation of his readers.

The American Revolution was certainly a war for self-determination. But self-determination and democracy are not interchangeable terms, though

¹¹ Even Brown does so. In pointing out how few men were disfranchised in Massachusetts, he significantly remarks, "We cannot condone the practice of excluding those few," though he rightly adds that it makes a tremendous difference whether they were 95 per cent or 5 per cent. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy*, 402.

they can be confused with a facility that has not been without its significance in American diplomacy. A society need not be democratic in order to achieve a high degree of internal unity when fighting for self-determination. Again, a measure of democracy, or a wider diffusion of political power, may well be brought about as an outcome of such a struggle. Such a development was in fact one of the most important consequences of the American Revolution.

It must be acknowledged that the sources of colonial history supply an impressive quantity of material that can be marshaled against my own views of this subject, though not enough as yet to weaken my conviction of the validity of historical evidence.

Much evidence of this sort comes from New England, and Massachusetts is rich in examples. In 1768 General Thomas Gage wrote to Viscount Hillsborough, "from what has been said, your lordship will conclude, that there is no government in Boston, there is in truth, very little at present, and the constitution of the province leans so much to democracy, that the governor has not the power to remedy the disorders which happen in it."¹² The next year Sir Francis Bernard wrote to Viscount Barrington,

. . . for these 4 years past so uniform a system for bringing all power into the hands of the people has been prosecuted without interruption and with such success that all fear, reverence, respect and awe which before formed a tolerable balance against the power of the people, are annihilated, and the artificial weights being removed, the royal scale mounts up and kicks the beam. . . . It would be better that Mass. Bay should be a complete republic like Connecticut than to remain with so few ingredients of royalty as shall be insufficient to maintain the real royal character.¹³

In 1766 Thomas Hutchinson reported: "In the town of Boston a plebeian party always has and I fear always will command and for some months past they have governed the province."¹⁴ Describing elections in 1772, Hutchinson told Hillsborough, "By the constitution forty pounds sterl.—which they say may be in clothes household furniture or any sort of property is a qualification and even into that there is scarce ever any inquiry and anything with the appearance of a man is admitted without scrutiny."¹⁵

The franchise was certainly broad. Brown has shown that in many towns as many as 80 per cent of the adult male population, in some more than 90 per cent, were qualified by their property to vote in provincial elections.¹⁶

¹² *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage . . .*, ed. Clarence E. Carter (2 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1931, 1933), I, 205.

¹³ Quoted by R. V. Harlow, *History of Legislative Methods before 1825* (New Haven, Conn., 1917), 39-40.

¹⁴ Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy*, 57.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 291.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

Three towns appear in the nineties, three in the fifties, the rest in between. These findings tend to confirm and strengthen the impression that prevailed among contemporaries, that Massachusetts was a hotbed of "democratical" or "levelling" principles: the more so after the Boston junta got control of the General Court.

These expressions raise two issues, one of definition, the other of interpretation.

The point of definition first: when the indignant officers of government described these provinces as "democratical," they were of course not talking about representative government with universal suffrage. They shared not only with their correspondents, but in the last analysis even with their political opponents, the assumption that the constitutions of the colonies, like that of Britain, were made up of mixed elements; they were mixed constitutions, in which the commons were represented in the assembly or commons house. In each constitution there were different orders, and the justification, the *raison d'être*, of such a constitution was that it gave security to each. When they said that the government was becoming "too democratical" or "leaned towards democracy" they meant that the popular element was too weighty for the proper balance of a mixed constitution. They used these expressions as terms of abuse. Not that that matters: we may be impressed by their indignation, but we are not obliged to share it. What is more important to the historian is that the leaders of these movements which took control of the assemblies were in general prepared to accept the same set of definitions.

This they demonstrated when they came to establish new constitutions. The theory of mixed government was maintained with as little adulteration as possible. The difference they had to face was that all the "orders" now drew their position in the government from some form of popular representation. Most of the new constitutions represented the adaptation of institutions which undeniably received their authority from the people, an authority conceived, if not in liberty, then certainly in a revolutionary situation, to the traditional and equally important theory of balanced government.

This does not dispose of the second point, that of interpretation. Suppose that, in this form of mixed government, the "democratical" arm actually gathers up a preponderance of political power. This, after all, was what happened in the Revolution and had been happening long before. Does this give us a democracy? It is a question of crucial importance and one to which one school of thought returns an uncritically affirmative answer. Much of the power and internal influence within each colony was indeed concentrated

in its assembly. This concentration reflected, or rather represented, the distribution of power and influence in the colony in general. If the domestic distribution of power tends toward oligarchy rather than democracy—to use the language of the time—then the power of that oligarchy will be exercised in, and through, the assembly itself: just as in the House of Commons. A difference of degree, not of kind. And in fact this most significant aspect of the domestic situation in the colonies applied with hardly less force in leveling Boston than in high-toned Virginia.

In Virginia one feels that an immigrant from England would at once have been at home.¹⁷ There were many instances of hotly contested elections, of treating and corruption, of sharp practice by sheriffs. It would not be difficult, however, to adduce evidence of democratic tendencies in Virginia elections. Especially in the spring elections of 1776 there were many signs that the freeholders were taking their choice seriously, and several distinguished gentlemen were either turned out of their seats or given a nasty fright. But it is an unmistakable feature of Virginia elections that although the freeholders participated often quite fully, the contests were almost invariably between members of the gentry. To seek election to the House of Burgesses was to stake a distinct claim to social rank. Virginia elections were of course conducted *viva voce* under the friendly supervision of the local magnates. The comparatively broad base of politics in Virginia makes it all the more instructive to look into the real concentration of political power. There were two main areas: the House of Burgesses and the county courts (not taking account of the council and governor).

Effective power in the House of Burgesses was concentrated in a few hands. The house began to use the committee system in the late seventeenth century and had brought it to a high efficiency well before the middle of the eighteenth.¹⁸ The famous Virginia ruling families of this era always occupied a large share of the key positions, enough to ensure their own domination. Before the Revolution, of some hundred members who regularly attended the house, only about twenty took an active part in proceedings. Three families, the Robinsons, the Randolphs, and the Lees, provided most of the leaders. A very recent study shows that of 630 members between 1720 and 1776, only 110 belonged throughout the period to the “select few who dominated the proceedings of the house.”¹⁹

¹⁷ Charles S. Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1952); David J. Mays, *Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1952); J. R. Pole, “Representation and Authority in Virginia from the Revolution to Reform,” *Journal of Southern History*, XXIV (Feb. 1958), 16-50.

¹⁸ Harlow, *Legislative Methods*, 10-11.

¹⁹ Jack P. Greene, “Foundations of Political Power in the Virginia House of Burgesses,

These men, many of whom were linked by ties of family, had the characteristics of a strong social and political elite. They were large landowners and generally were substantial slaveowners. Some were merchants. A few, such as Edmund Pendleton, had arrived by intellectual ability and hard work combined with legal training. But Pendleton had the patronage of a great family. All those with ambition were land speculators. This gave them an interest in western development, an interest which no doubt extended to the policy of making western areas attractive to the prospective settler. Probably for this reason they wanted to extend the suffrage, which they twice tried to do in the 1760's by reducing the amount of uncleared land required as a qualification. The crown disallowed these acts, though on other grounds. This reform was completed in the first election law after the Revolution. Despite the famous reforms pressed through by Jefferson, no concessions were made on matters of fundamental importance. It is a striking tribute to the tremendous security of their hold on the country that in the new state constitution there was no provision for special qualifications for membership in the legislature. The qualifications of voters and of representatives for the time being remained as before. It is a silent piece of evidence, possibly, but one that speaks loudly of their eminent self-confidence.

Life in the counties was dominated by the county courts, which touched the interests of the common people far more closely than did the remote and occasional meetings of the legislature. The courts, which knew little of any doctrine of separation of powers, exercised all the main functions of both legislative and judicial administration. These included tax assessment, granting licenses, supervising highways, and authorizing constructions. They had nothing elective in their nature. Membership was by co-option. The courts made the important county nominations for confirmation by the governor. And the county courts were made up of the leading men of the county, representing at the local level the material of which the House of Burgesses was composed at the central. They seem on the whole to have worked well enough. And it is likely that if they had in fact been elected by the freeholders, their membership would have been about the same. Assuredly they were not tyrannical; equally certainly they were not democratic. They were a good example of what is usually meant by oligarchy.

What happened in the American Revolution in Virginia was that the policies of the British government clashed with the interests of this ambitious, proud, self-assured, and highly competent provincial government. In arguing its case, both to the British authorities and to its own people, this government

1720-1766," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XVI (Oct. 1959), 485-506; quotation from p. 485.

appealed to the principles on which it claimed to be founded, which were philosophically the same and historically comparable to those of Parliament itself. For historical reasons, the Virginia Whigs were somewhat closer to the radical, or popular side, of the Whig spectrum. But in Virginia as in other provinces, it was the principles generally understood as Whig principles that were at stake, and it was these principles which were affirmed and re-established in the new set of domestic state constitutions.

From time to time, as the war went on, the upper classes felt tremors of alarm in which they revealed something of their relationship to the common people.

Thus John Augustine Washington, writing to Richard Henry Lee of the difficulties of getting the militia to obey a marching order, and the secret proceedings by which they bound themselves to stand by each other in refusing to leave the state, remarked: "I fear we have among us some designing dangerous characters who misrepresent to ignorant, uninformed people, the situation of our affairs and the nature of the contest, making them believe it is a war produced by the wantonness of the gentlemen, and that the poor are very little, if any interested."²⁰ Another of Lee's correspondents, on the need to arouse popular support, wrote: "The spark of liberty is not yet extinct among our people, and if properly fanned by the Gentlemen of Influence will, I make no doubt, burst out again into a flame."²¹

These hints, these references which illuminate the assumptions of political life, often reveal more than formal expositions of doctrine, or even the official records.

These "Gentlemen of Influence," the ruling class, were prepared to extend the suffrage when it suited their interest to do so in the 1760's, but refused to take the same step when it would have opened the question of political power, a generation later. The first demands for reform, in both suffrage and distribution of representation, began to appear about the turn of the century. And these demands were met with a prolonged and bitter resistance, leading only to reluctant and unsatisfactory concessions even in the famous constitutional convention of 1829-1830. The struggle was carried on until a more substantial extension of political rights was at last achieved in 1850. The forces that Virginia's political leadership so long and so determinedly held at bay can, I think, without exaggeration, be called the forces of democracy.

It is a very familiar fact about the early state constitutions that they were generally conservative in character, in that they retained much of the princi-

²⁰ Quoted in Pole, "Representation and Authority in Virginia," 28.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

ples and structure of the governments of the colonies. The colonies were already self-governing in the main, and this self-government was administered by representative institutions. When one's attention is confined to these institutions, it can soon become rather difficult to see in what respect they were not, in a common-sense use of the word, democratic. After all, they were accessible to the people, they received petitions and redressed grievances, they possessed the inestimable right of free speech, and in the battles they fought, they were often engaged, in the interest of the colonies, against royal governors.

All these features were not merely consistent with, they were the formative elements of, the great Whig tradition of Parliament since the Glorious Revolution and before. They were, like so many other things, derivable from Locke. With certain exceptions, such as the difficulty of the Regulator rising in North Carolina, it would be true that colonial assemblies lay closer to the people than did the British House of Commons. For one thing, there were far more representatives per head of population in the colonies than in Britain. Parliament had 1 member to every 14,300 persons, the colonies approximately 1 to every 1,200.²² And this meant that legislative methods and principles were more likely to be familiar to the ordinary colonist. To put it in contemporary terms, the colonies, on the whole, had a great many more constituencies like Middlesex or Westminster, except that they were mostly country and not town constituencies. It might be very close to the mark to press the analogy further and say that they had a great many constituencies that very much resembled Yorkshire—the Yorkshire of Sir George Savile, the Yorkshire of Christopher Wyvill.

What does seem striking about these in many ways highly representative colonial assemblies is, as I suggested earlier, the determination and sureness of touch with which they assumed the characteristics of Parliament. These were characteristics originally designed to secure the liberty of the people's representatives: free speech in debate, freedom of members from arrest or molestation, and freedom of the assembly from abuse by breach of privilege. But there were all too many occasions on which it must have seemed that these safeguards were designed to secure the assemblies against abuse, in the form of free speech and fair comment, by their own constituents.²³

The colonial assemblies became extraordinarily sensitive to the question of privilege. Strictly from an institutional viewpoint, they were deliberately

²² Mary P. Clarke, *Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies* (New Haven, Conn., 1943), 268.

²³ *Ibid.*, 127.

building on the tradition of Parliament. But institutional studies always seem to tempt the historian to arrive at his answer the short way, by examining structure, without asking questions about development.

Much research has recently been done on what Palmer calls the "constituted bodies"²⁴ which held a strong and growing position in the Western world in the eighteenth century. They were numerous and differed greatly, one from another, and from one century to another—first of all the variety of political or judicial bodies: diets, estates, assemblies, parlements; then the professional associations or guilds; as well as religious orders, and those of the nobilities of Europe.

There seems strong reason for holding that the colonial assemblies were behaving in close conformity with the other bodies of this general type. At their best they were closer to local interests, but no less characteristically, they displayed a remarkable diligence in the adoption of parliamentary abuses. They would send their messengers far into the outlying country to bring to the bar of the house some individual who was to be humbled for having committed a breach of privilege, which very often meant some private action affecting the dignity or even the property of the sitting member. Criticism of the assemblies, either verbal or written, was a risky business. The freedom of the colonial press was very largely at the mercy of the assembly's sense of its own dignity, so much so that a recent investigator doubts whether the famous Zenger case,²⁵ which is supposed to have done so much toward the establishment of freedom of the press in the colonies, really had any general significance or immediate consequences. The fact is that restrictions on free press comment on assembly actions were not the policy of the crown but the policy of the assemblies.

Expulsions from colonial assemblies were frequent. And in case a parallel with the action of the Commons in the Wilkes case were needed to round off the picture, we may remark that colonial assemblies repeatedly excluded members who had been lawfully elected by their constituents.²⁶

There was another feature in which these assemblies showed their affinity with the outlook of their times. In spite of the amount of choice open to the electors, there was a growing tendency for public office, both the elective and the appointive kinds, to become hereditary. It was of course very pronounced in Europe; it is surely no less significant when we see it at work in America.

²⁴ Palmer, *Democratic Revolution*, 27-44.

²⁵ Leonard W. Levy, "Did the Zenger Case Really Matter? Freedom of the Press in Colonial New York," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XVII (Jan. 1960), 35-50.

²⁶ Clarke, *Parliamentary Privilege*, 194-96.

The same family names occur, from generation to generation, in similar positions. And this was no less true in New England than in Virginia or South Carolina or Maryland.

If this was democracy, it was a democracy that wore its cockade firmly pinned into its periwig.

One of the most interesting consequences of the revolutionary situation was that it demanded of political leaders a declaration of their principles. Thus we get the famous Virginia Bill of Rights, the work of George Mason; the Declaration of Rights attached to the 1780 constitution of Massachusetts; and the constitutions themselves, with all that they reveal or imply of political ideas; and in the case of Massachusetts we can go even further, for there survive also, in the archives of that state in Boston, the returns of the town meetings which debated that constitution and in many cases recorded their vote, clause by clause.

This constitution, in fact, was submitted to the ratification of what counted then as the whole people—all the adult males in the state. The constitutional convention had been elected on the same basis. The constitution which was framed on this impressive foundation of popular sovereignty was certainly not a democratic instrument. It was an articulate, indeed a refined expression, of the Whig view of government—of government-in-society—as applied to the existing conditions in Massachusetts, and as interpreted by John Adams.

The property qualifications for the suffrage were, in round figures, about what they had been under the charter. In practice they proved to have very little effect by way of restricting participation in elections. The introduction of decidedly steeper qualifications for membership in the assembly meant that that body would be composed of the owners of the common, upward of one-hundred-acre family farm, and their mercantile equivalent. The pyramid narrowed again to the senate, and came to a point in the position of governor. These restrictions were new, but gave little offense to the general sense of political propriety; the suffrage qualifications were objected to in about one-fifth of the recorded town meeting debates.²⁷

The house and senate represented different types of constituency, and the difference is one of the clues to institutional thought. The house represented the persons of the electorate living in corporate towns, which were entitled

²⁷ The constitution of 1780 is discussed in: S. E. Morison, "The Struggle over the Adoption of the Constitution of Massachusetts, 1780," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, L (Boston, 1916-17), 353-412; Robert J. Taylor, *Western Massachusetts in the Revolution* (Providence, R. I., 1954); J. R. Pole, "Suffrage and Representation in Massachusetts: A Statistical Note," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV (Oct. 1957), 560-92. The town meeting records are in Volumes CCLXXVI and CCLXXVII in the Massachusetts Department of Archives, the State House, Boston.

to representation according to a numerical scale of population; very small communities were excluded. The town remained the basic unit of representation. The senate, on the other hand, represented the property of the state arranged in districts corresponding to the counties; the number of members to which each county was entitled depended, not on population, but on the taxes it had paid into the state treasury. The result in distribution of representatives in the senate was not actually much different from the apportionment that would have been obtained by population,²⁸ but the intention was there, and the plan conformed to the principles of political order by which the delegates were guided.²⁹

New York, which established popular election of its governor, and North Carolina took the matter further by differentiating between the qualifications of voters for the senate and the house of representatives.

How then are we to explain the paradox of popular consent to a scheme of government which systematically excluded the common people from the more responsible positions of political power? The historian who wishes to adopt the word "democracy" as a definition must first satisfy himself that it can be applied to a carefully ordered hierarchy, under the aegis of which power and authority are related to a conscientiously designed scale of social and economic rank, both actual and prospective; if this test fails him, then he must ask himself whether he can call the system a democracy, on the ground that it was a form of government established with the consent of the governed. Those who wish to argue this line have the advantage of finding much serviceable material that can be adopted without the rigors, or the risks, of a historically-minded analysis. It is possible to concentrate all attention on those aspects of the system which we would now call democratic, to assert that these elements exerted a controlling influence and that all the rest was a sort of obsolescent window dressing. Such a view may not be particularly subtle, but on the other hand it is not absolute nonsense. It is, perhaps, the easiest view to arrive at through an extensive reading of local economic records in the light of a clear, but vastly simplified interpretation of the political process; but it leaves unfulfilled the rather more complex task of perceiving the democratic elements in their proper place within a system conceived in another age, under a different inspiration.

In the Whig philosophy of government the basic principle, preceding representative institutions, is the compact. The people already owned their

²⁸ As noted by Palmer, *Democratic Revolution*, 226.

²⁹ It may be permissible to mention that Brown, in his study of this constitution, omits to note this provision for tax payment as the basis of county representation. In itself, this may seem a small clue, but the thread leads into another world of political ideas than that of modern democracy. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy*, 393.

property by natural right, and they are supposed to have come into the compact quite voluntarily to secure protection both to their property and to their persons. For these purposes government was formed. What was done in Massachusetts seems to have been a solemn attempt to re-enact the original compact in the new making of the state. It was even possible to deploy the theory of compact as an excuse for seizing other people's property: in 1782 the legislature of Virginia resolved that the estates of British subjects might be confiscated because they had not been parties to the original contract of the people of that state.³⁰ And the Virginia constitution had not even been submitted for popular ratification!

Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in fact, were the only states in which popular ratification was sought for the revolutionary constitution. In a society whose moral cohesion was supplied by the sense of deference and dignity, it was possible for the broad mass of the people to consent to a scheme of government in which their own share would be limited. Some of them of course expected to graduate to the higher levels; government was not controlled by inherited rank.

This factor—the expectation of advancement—is an important feature of the American experience; it is one which is often used to excuse the injustice of exclusion from government by economic status. The *Address* that the Massachusetts convention delegates drew up in 1780 to expound the principles on which they had acted makes the point that most of those excluded by the suffrage qualification could expect to rise sufficiently in their own property to reach the level of voters. The exclusion of the artisan and laborer from the assembly was, however, more likely to prove permanent.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the body of citizens included in the electoral system at one level or another, or expecting to gain their inclusion, was really the whole body. There are always farm laborers, journeymen, migrant workers, and one may suspect that the numbers excluded by law were larger than the terms of the *Address* suggest. But even if we are disposed to accept the high level of popular participation in elections as being weighty enough to determine our definitions, it is surely wise to pause even over the legal disfranchisement of one man in every four or five, and in some towns one man in three.

This constitutional scheme was derived from a mixture of experience, theory, and intention. It is the intention for the future which seems to call for scrutiny when we attempt a satisfactory definition of these institutions.

³⁰ Edmund Randolph to James Madison, Richmond, Dec. 27, 1782, Madison Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

In the first place there is the deliberate disfranchisement of the small, perhaps the unfortunate, minority; the fact that the number is small is not more significant than that the exclusion is deliberate. In the second place, there is the installation of orders of government corresponding to orders of society; the fact that the lines are imprecise and that the results are uncertain is again not more significant than that the scale is deliberate.

It was a rule of Whig ideology that participation in matters of government was the legitimate concern only of those who possessed what was commonly called "a stake in society." In concrete terms this stake in society was one's property, for the protection of which, government had been originally formed. As a means to that protection, he was entitled, under a government so formed, to a voice: to some form of representation.

But there is a further problem. To put it briefly, what is to happen if the expected general economic advancement does not take place? Accumulations of wealth were far from being unknown; what if the further accumulation of wealth and the advance of the economy were to leave an ever-increasing residue of the population outside the political limits set by these constitutions? It is unlikely that their framers were ignorant of such possibilities. The growth of Sheffield, Manchester, and Leeds was not unknown; London was not easy to overlook; the Americans had close ties with Liverpool and Bristol. The fact is that a future town proletariat would be specifically excluded by the arrangements that were being made.

The historian who insists that this system was a model of democracy may find that the advance of the economy, a tendency already affecting America in many ways, leaves him holding a very undemocratic-looking baby. In the Philadelphia Convention, James Madison bluntly predicted that in future times "the great majority" would be "not only without landed, but any other sort of, property"—a state in which they would either combine, to the peril of property and liberty, or become the tools of opulence and ambition, leading to "equal danger on the other side."³¹ The objection became common when state constitutions were under reform. Opponents of suffrage extension in the constitutions of the 1820's, who included many of the recognized leaders of political life, had a better right than their opponents to claim to be the legitimate heirs of the Whig constitution makers of the revolutionary era.

The constitution of the two legislative houses was based on the view that society was formed for the protection of persons and their property and that

³¹ *Records of the Federal Convention*, ed. Max Farrand (4 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1927), II, 203-204.

these two elements required separate protection and separate representation. This was one of the leading political commonplaces of the day. It is implied by Montesquieu; Jefferson accepts it in his *Notes on Virginia*; Madison held the view throughout his career; Hamilton treated it as a point of common agreement.³² It is worth adding that it lay behind the original conception of the United States Senate in the form envisaged by the Virginia plan, a form which was subverted when the Senate became the representative chamber of the states. The whole subject was, of course, familiar to John Adams, who went on thinking about it long after he had drawn up a draft for the constitution of his state in 1780.

John Adams, as he himself anticipated, has been a much-misunderstood man. But it is important that we should get him right. No American was more loyal to Whig principles, and none was more deeply read in political ideas.

Adams is often said to have been an admirer of aristocracy and of monarchy. His admiration for the British constitution was easy to treat as an admission of unrepugnant principles. But he really believed in the British constitution as it ought to have been, and he prudently averted his gaze from what it was in his own day. If Adams had lived in England in the 1780's, he would have been an associator in Wyvill's parliamentary reform movement, rather than a Foxite Whig.

Adams was profoundly impressed with the advantages enjoyed by birth, wealth, superior education, and natural merit, and the tendency for these advantages to become an inherited perquisite of the families that enjoyed them. He was equally clear about the corrupting influence of this sort of power. For this reason he wanted to segregate the aristocracy in an upper chamber, a process which he called "a kind of ostracism." The strong executive in which he believed was intended as a check not on the commons so much as on the aristocracy.

He developed this view of the function of the upper chamber in his *Defence of the Constitutions of the United States* (1786-1787). It is not wholly consistent with the view given in the *Address*³³ attached to the draft Massachusetts constitution of 1780, in which the line taken was that persons and property require separate protection in different houses. This view is itself a reflection of more than one tradition. It reflects the traditional structure of

³² Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1838), *De l'esprit des lois*, 267; James Madison, *Writings*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (9 vols., New York, 1910), V, 287; Hamilton's speech in *Debates and Proceedings of Convention of New York, at Poughkeepsie 1788* (Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 1905), 26.

³³ This, however, was the work of Samuel Adams. (William V. Wells, *The Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams* [3 vols., Boston, 1865], III, 89-97.)

the legislature—council and assembly, lords and commons; it reflects also the idea that the state is actually composed of different orders (a word of which John Adams was fond) and that these orders have in their own right specific interests which are entitled to specific recognition. They are entitled to it because it is the purpose of the state to secure and protect them: that in fact was why the state was supposed to have come into existence.

Adams once, in later years, wrote to Jefferson: "Your *aristoi* are the most difficult animals to manage in the whole theory and practice of government. They will not suffer themselves to be governed."³⁴ Yet in spite of his intense distrust of them, I think his attitude was two sided. I find it difficult to read his account of the role played in society by the aristocracy without feeling that there was to him, as there is to many others, something peculiarly distinguished and attractive about these higher circles, elevated by nature and sustained by society above the ordinary run of men. And had he not, after all, sons for whom he had some hopes? Some hopes, perhaps, for the family of Adams?

Governor Bernard had lamented the disappearance from prerevolutionary Massachusetts of those balancing factors, "Fear, reverence, respect and awe." Disappearance at least toward the royal authority. They did not disappear so easily from domestic life. There is nothing which reveals these deferential attitudes more fully than in respect to birth and family, given on trust. Adams therefore tells us much, not only of himself but of his times, when he draws attention to inequality of birth:

Let no man be surprised that this species of inequality is introduced here. Let the page in history be quoted, where any nation, ancient or modern, civilized or savage, is mentioned, among whom no difference was made, between the citizens, on account of their extraction. The truth is, that more influence is allowed to this advantage in free republics than in despotic governments, or would be allowed to it in simple monarchies, if severe laws had not been made from age to age to secure it. The children of illustrious families have generally greater advantages of education, and earlier opportunities to be acquainted with public characters, and informed of public affairs, than those of meaner ones, or even than those in middle life; and what is more than all, a habitual national veneration for their names, and the characters of their ancestors, described in history, or coming down by tradition, removes them farther from vulgar jealousy and popular envy, and secures them in some degree the favour, the affection, the respect of the public. Will any man pretend that the name of Andros, and that of Winthrop, are heard with the same sensations in any village of New England? Is not gratitude the sentiment that attends the latter? And disgust the feeling excited by the former? In the Massachusetts, then, there are persons descended from some of their ancient governors, counsellors, judges, whose fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, are mentioned in history with applause as benefactors to the country, while there

³⁴ Quoted in Palmer, *Democratic Revolution*, 273, n. 52.

are others who have no such advantage. May we go a step further,—Know thyself, is as useful a precept to nations as to men. Go into every village in New England, and you will find that the office of justice of the peace, and even the place of representative, which has ever depended only on the freest election of the people, have generally descended from generation to generation, in three or four families at most.³⁵

Deference: it does not seem, in retrospect, a very secure cement to the union of social orders. Yet to those who live under its sway it can be almost irresistible.

It was beginning to weaken, no doubt, in Adams' own political lifetime. "The distinction of classes," Washington said to Brissot de Warville in 1788, "begins to disappear." But not easily, not all at once, not without a struggle.

It was this which collapsed in ruins in the upheaval of Jacksonian democracy. And that, perhaps, is why the election of so ambiguous a leader was accompanied by such an amazing uproar.

³⁵ John Adams, *Defence of the Constitutions of the United States* . . . (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1797), I, 110-11.

Bullets and Ballots: Lincoln and the "Right of Revolution"

THOMAS J. PRESSLY*

THE concept of the "right of revolution," wrote the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., in 1959, is one of "America's seminal contributions" to civilization. In a discussion of ten "contributions to civilization" by the United States (and the thirteen original colonies), he placed first the idea of the "right of revolution": "First and foremost stands the concept of the inherent and universal right of revolution proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence."¹ A sharp contrast, however, to these words was a comment which Judge Learned Hand included in a court decision almost ten years earlier: "Revolutions are often 'right,' but a 'right of revolution' is a contradiction in terms, for a society which acknowledged it could not stop at tolerating conspiracies to overthrow it, but must include their execution."²

The disparity between the words of the well-known historian and those of the well-known judge is striking, but one possible explanation of the disparity comes readily to mind. According to that explanation, Schlesinger's words are to be understood as referring to a "moral" or "ethical" right, whereas Hand's comment is to be understood in a legal or constitutional sense concerning a "right" which is enforceable in courts of law. Thus, Schlesinger can be pictured as speaking the language of those Americans who have expressed their support for the concept of a "moral right of revolution"—the language, for example, of Thomas Jefferson, whose Declaration of Independence Schlesinger cited, or the language of John C. Calhoun in the Senate on January 5, 1837, or of Abraham Lincoln in the Congress on January 12, 1848, or of Henry David Thoreau in his essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience," published in 1849, or of John L. Motley in his letter to the London *Times* of May 23, 1861, or of Ulysses S. Grant in his *Personal Memoirs* published in 1885.³ Conversely, Hand can be depicted as speaking a different

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¹ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., "Our Ten Contributions to Civilization," *Atlantic*, CCIII (Mar. 1959), 65-69; the quotation is from p. 65. The present article is part of a book-length study of the concept of the "right of revolution" in the United States which is now in progress.

² Judge Learned Hand: *U. S. vs. Dennis et al.*, 183 F. 2d 201, 213. The decision was reported in the *New York Times*, Aug. 2, 1950.

³ *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian Boyd et al. (15 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1950-), I, 429; *The Works of John C. Calhoun*, ed. Richard K. Crallé (6 vols., New

language, as speaking the language of "legal common sense," and Hand's observation that "a 'right of revolution' is a contradiction in terms" can be grouped with the similar words of Lincoln in July 1861: "The right of revolution is never a legal right."⁴ The difference between Hand and Schlesinger can thus be described as the difference between the realm of common sense "law and order" and the realm of "moral right."

On what basis, though, have individuals throughout the history of the United States determined whether any given attempt to invoke the "right of revolution" was to be viewed from the perspective of a "moral right" that sanctioned revolution, or from the perspective of "law and order" in which a "right of revolution" seemed a contradiction in terms which provided no vindication for illegal actions? This question has become particularly relevant and particularly insistent in the twentieth century which has witnessed both "totalitarian" and "nontotalitarian" revolutions, a century in which support for the "right of revolution" has been expressed by individuals citing Locke, Jefferson, and Thoreau, and also by Adolph Hitler.⁵ In seeking answers to this question, one promising place to search is the experience of Lincoln. What did Lincoln say, and what did he do concerning the "right of revolution"? Employing as a brief, working definition the meaning that the individuals

York, 1851-56), II, 615-16; *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler *et al.* (9 vols., New Brunswick, N. J., 1953-55), I, 438-39; *Walden . . . [and] On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*, ed. Norman H. Pearson (New York, 1948), 284; John Lothrop Motley in the *London Times*, May 23, 1861; Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs* (2 vols., New York, 1885), I, 219.

⁴ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, IV, 434, n. 83. The Lincoln-Hand view that the "right of revolution" had no legal standing seems at first glance to be contradicted by the constitutions of eighteen of the United States which contain (as of 1961) language similar to the Declaration, and hence seem to make the "right of revolution" a constitutional right enforceable in courts of law. For example, the constitution of the state of Oregon contains this provision (Art. I, Sec. 1): ". . . the people . . . have at all times a right to alter, reform, or abolish the government in such manner as they may think proper." Similar language, or language with a similar meaning, is contained in the constitutions of the following states: Alabama (Art. I, Sec. 2); Arkansas (Art. 2, Sec. 1); Connecticut (Art. First, Sec. 2); Georgia (Art. I, Sec. v, 2-501); Idaho (Art. I, Sec. 2); Kentucky (Par. 4); Maine (Art. I, Sec. 2); Maryland (Dec. of Rights, Arts. 1, 6); Massachusetts (Dec. of Rights, Art. VII); New Hampshire (Bill of Rights, Art. 10); Ohio (Art. I, Sec. 2); Pennsylvania (Art. I, Sec. 2); Tennessee (Art. I, Sec. 1); Vermont (Chap. I, Art. 7); Virginia (Art. I, Sec. 3); West Virginia (Art. III, Sec. 3); Wyoming (Art. I, Sec. 1). [The constitutions are printed in, among other places, the *Codes* or *Statutes* of the various states.] These "right of revolution" provisions, however, conflict with other provisions in the state constitutions, such as the sections concerning treason or concerning the police powers of the states, and are apparently regarded by judges and legislators as traditional historical expressions which do not mean what they seem literally to say. The "right of revolution" provisions of the state constitutions conflict with state criminal syndicalism statutes, and they have apparently never been invoked successfully as a defense in courts of law for actions by individuals against the authority of the state governments. Criminal syndicalism legislation is described in Eldridge F. Dowell, *A History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation in the United States* (Baltimore, 1939).

⁵ Adolph Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Eng. trans, New York, 1940), 122. The United States "revolutionary tradition" and the world of the 1950's are discussed in Stuart W. Chapman, "The Right of Revolution and the Rights of Man," *Yale Review*, XLIII (Summer 1954), 576-88; that tradition and the United States of the early 1930's are discussed in Merle Curti, "Our Revolutionary Tradition," *Social Frontier*, I (Dec. 1934), 10-13.

mentioned so far seem to have envisioned when they used the phrase and/or the concept, "right of revolution": the justifiable privilege of a group of individuals to use force and violence under certain circumstances against the constituted governmental authorities of society.⁶

Lincoln's actions and attitudes relating to the "right of revolution" can be described most accurately in terms of two contrasting patterns, evident in the quarter century before he was inaugurated President in 1861.⁷ These two contrasting patterns of actions and attitudes were potentially incompatible, and Lincoln, as President, was to be faced with the task of reconciling them, or choosing between them, at the time of the secession crisis and the outbreak of civil war in 1861.

One pattern in Lincoln's actions and ideas before he became President was his support of the "right of revolution" concept. He affirmed this support most explicitly in the late 1840's and early 1850's, the period of revolutionary outbursts in several countries within Western civilization. Lincoln's longest and most important statement upholding the "right of revolution" was made on January 12, 1848, in a speech in the House of Representatives, where he was a member of the Whig party from Illinois.⁸ On this occasion, Lincoln criticized President Polk's justification of the role of the United States in the origins of the war with Mexico, a war which in January 1848 was drawing to a close. In his remarks, Lincoln commented on Texas' revolt against Mexico, a revolution that he favored, and he digressed into a brief discussion of the general nature of revolutions. It was in this setting and context that Lincoln delivered his best-known remarks in support of the "right of revolution":

Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the *right* to rise up, and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them

⁶ See notes 3, 4, and 5, above. This working definition is compatible with that in the writings of John Locke, described frequently as the most important single source influencing the ideas of the "right of revolution" held by individuals in the thirteen colonies and in the United States. Locke wrote: "Where-ever Law ends, Tyranny begins, if the Law be transgressed to another's harm. And whosoever in Authority exceeds the Power given him by the Law, and makes use of the Force he has under his Command, to compass that upon the Subject, which the Law allows not, ceases in that to be a Magistrate, and acting without Authority, may be opposed, as any other Man who by force invades the Right of another." The quotation is from Locke's "The Second Treatise of Government," in *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge, Eng., 1960), par. 202 (pp. 418-19); see also pars. 207 (p. 421), 208 (p. 422), 220 (p. 429), 222 (pp. 430-31), 225 (p. 433), 229 (p. 435), 232 (p. 437), 243 (p. 446). Sir James A. H. Murray's *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (20 vols. and suppl., Oxford, Eng., 1888-1928) does not define "right of revolution" or "right of resistance" or "right of rebellion," although it does contain twenty columns of definitions of "right," eight columns of definitions of "revolution" and related words, five columns of definitions of "resistance," and five columns of definitions of "rebellion," "rebel," and related words.

⁷ This study is based primarily upon Lincoln's writings as found in the *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*

⁸ The speech is printed in *ibid.*, I, 431-42.

better. This is a most valuable,—a most sacred right—a right, which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government, may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that *can, may* revolutionize, and make their *own*, of so much of the territory [*sic*] as they inhabit. More than this, a *majority* of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a *minority*, intermingled with, or near about them, who may oppose their movement. Such minority, was precisely the case, of the tories of our own revolution. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by *old* lines, or *old* laws; but to break up both, and make new ones [*italics Lincoln's*].⁹

It seems clear that Lincoln in this passage expressed unequivocal support for the “right of revolution,” although his words did not decisively clarify all aspects of the subject. His mention of the hope and belief that the “most sacred right” of revolution was “to liberate the world” suggested an expectation or assumption that this “right” would be exercised in circumstances in which it would advance the aims espoused by “liberal revolutionists” in 1848. Lincoln did not define what it meant “to liberate the world,” but one suspects that in the context of 1848 the phrase meant to promote movements for national independence and for the extension of democratic practices in government. The only conditions spelled out by Lincoln concerning the individuals who took part in a revolution were that they have the desire to revolt and possess the power, presumably physical power, to revolt. This criterion of power was emphasized in Lincoln’s remarks: a minority of the individuals living under a particular government, he stated, might “revolutionize” against the majority, or the majority might “revolutionize” and put down a minority; whether a majority or a minority was justified in exercising the “right of revolution” seemed to depend upon its power—any group *may* “revolutionize,” said Lincoln, if it *can*. One does not expect that a few sentences from a speech delivered on the floor of Congress will cover every aspect of a complex subject. In his 1848 speech Lincoln did not trace precisely all the issues involved in the concept of the “right of revolution.” He did, however, clearly put on record his opinions that majorities or minorities possessed “the *right* to rise up, and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better.”

The year 1848 was a time of revolutions in Western Europe, and Lincoln’s reaction to those mid-nineteenth-century European revolutions was consistent with his championing of the “right of revolution” on the floor of Congress. He expressed support for the French, the Hungarian, and the German revolutions. A simple listing provides evidence of the extent and kind of activities

⁹ *Ibid.*, 438–39.

through which his support was manifested: on April 10, 1848, he voted in the House of Representatives for a joint resolution tendering the congratulations of Congress to the French people on their new republic established as a result of the Revolution of 1848; he attended a meeting in his home city of Springfield, Illinois, on September 6, 1849, at which he was appointed a member of a committee of six persons who drew up resolutions of sympathy and admiration for the Hungarian revolutionists; he joined eight other individuals on January 5, 1852, in issuing a call for a gathering in Springfield to honor the leader of the Hungarian revolutionists, Louis Kossuth, who was touring the United States at the time; when that meeting was held three days later, Lincoln was again appointed a member of a committee to draw up resolutions of sympathy for the Hungarians; on the following evening, January 9, Lincoln reported to those assembled the resolutions, one of which expressed praise for the revolutionary efforts, not only of the Hungarians but also of "the Irish, the Germans and the French"; and on January 26 of the same year he was one of a group of sixty-three persons who issued a call for a general meeting that would take steps to invite Kossuth to Springfield.¹⁰

In supporting the various mid-century European revolutionary movements, Lincoln, on at least one occasion, explicitly justified those movements by invoking the "right of revolution": "it is the right of any people, sufficiently numerous for national independence," read the first resolution presented by Lincoln to a "Kossuth meeting" on January 9, 1852, "to throw off, to revolutionize, their existing form of government, and to establish such other in its stead as they may choose."¹¹ Lincoln here seemed to equate "revolution" with "movement for national independence." Other phrases used in connection with the meetings Lincoln attended in support of revolutions abroad (and these phrases may be Lincoln's also) mentioned the struggle of the Hungarians "for liberty," mentioned nations "struggling to be free," and mentioned efforts of the Irish, the Germans, and the French "to establish in their several governments the supremacy of the peo-

¹⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., 598 (Apr. 10, 1848); *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, II, 62, 115-16, 118. The reactions of Americans to nineteenth-century revolutions in Europe are described in such studies as: Eugene N. Curtis, "American Opinion of the French Nineteenth-Century Revolutions," *American Historical Review*, XXIX (Jan. 1924), 249-70; Merle E. Curti, "Young America," *ibid.*, XXXII (Oct. 1926), 34-55; John G. Gazley, *American Opinion of German Unification, 1848-1871* (New York, 1926); Elizabeth B. White, *American Opinion of France from Lafayette to Poincaré* (New York, 1927); Arthur J. May, *Contemporary American Opinion of the Mid-Century Revolutions in Central Europe* (Philadelphia, 1927); John W. Oliver, "Louis Kossuth's Appeal to the Middle West—1852," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV (Mar. 1928), 481-95; Myrtle A. Cline, *American Attitude Toward the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1828* (Atlanta, 1930); Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861* (New York, 1932).

¹¹ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, II, 115.

ple.”¹² These phrases suggest that Lincoln and his fellow citizens of Springfield, in upholding the mid-century European revolutions, pictured them as movements for “freedom,” in the sense of national independence, and/or as movements to establish democratic governments marked by the “supremacy of the people.”¹³

In summary, Lincoln upheld the “right of revolution” in the 1840’s and early 1850’s, and, while he did not present a comprehensive statement of the conditions that would justify the resort to force and violence, his words were usually set in a context in which it was implied that revolution would aid in the achievement of national independence and/or in the spread of democratic practices of government.

But what of revolutionary movements seen in a different context, movements that seemed to have as their aim, or their result, not national independence or an extension of democratic practices in government, but the reverse? Could the “right of revolution” be claimed as a justification for such movements, and did Lincoln support such a claim?

Lincoln had stated in an 1842 address that revolutions exacted a price and that they were to be evaluated by comparing, on the one hand, the amount of “human misery” they alleviated with, on the other hand, the amount of “human misery” they inflicted.¹⁴ This criterion for evaluating revolutions could presumably justify opposition to any revolution that seemed to be inflicting more human misery than it alleviated and could justify the upholding of governmental authority against individuals who employed force and violence in such circumstances. The fact that Lincoln specified this criterion might suggest that his support for the “right of revolution” was not his only attitude concerning the relationship of individuals to governmental authority before he became President. In truth, he expressed other attitudes with quite a different emphasis in the decades from the 1830’s through the 1850’s. This second pattern of actions and attitudes was revealed in a context unlike that in which he upheld the “right of revolution”: it was revealed in the context of Lincoln’s concern over certain problems within the United States, and it emphasized the value of maintaining the constitutional fabric of society and of maintaining the law-abiding, nonviolent, and nonrevolutionary practices which were part of that fabric.

One of the earliest and most extensive statements of this second pattern in

¹² *Ibid.*, 62, 116.

¹³ Lincoln had described the American Revolution in similar terms in 1842 (and had praised it). (*Ibid.*, I, 278.)

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Lincoln's thinking was an address that he delivered before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield on January 27, 1838, with the significantly nonrevolutionary title, "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions." To the Young Men's Lyceum, Lincoln spoke of dangers threatening the political institutions of the United States and of methods of guarding against these dangers. The chief danger envisioned by Lincoln was one that came from within the nation, rather than from abroad—lawlessness. One form of lawlessness singled out by Lincoln was the disregard for law exhibited by crowds or mobs, and he cited recent mob murders of both whites and Negroes in Missouri and Mississippi.¹⁵ A second form of lawlessness was that by the individual who considered himself superior to the law, the individual of "talent and ambition," who might "seize the opportunity, strike the blow, and overturn" the political system of the United States.¹⁶

The mob or individual lawlessness described by Lincoln might not necessarily be directed toward effecting a revolution. Yet Lincoln's criticism of lawlessness would seem relevant to the "right of revolution," at least in the sense that exercise of the "right of revolution" would presumably involve the breaking of laws and would be impossible if "law and order" prevailed. And the preservation of "law and order" was precisely what he urged to the Young Men's Lyceum: "*reverence for the constitution and laws* [italics Lincoln's]" should become the "political religion" of the nation.¹⁷ Lincoln made it clear that he advocated respect for law in general as a system of ordering society and that he was not upholding the validity of any one specific law. Likewise, he insisted that respect for the system of law need not prevent the redress of social grievances:

When I so pressingly urge a strict observance of all the laws, let me not be understood as saying there are no bad laws, nor that grievances may not arise, for the redress of which, no legal provisions have been made. I mean to say no such thing. But I do mean to say, that, although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still while they continue in force, for the sake of example, they should be religiously observed. So also in unprovided cases. If such arise, let proper legal provisions be made for them with the least possible delay; but, till then, let them if not too intolerable, be borne with.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 109–11; the entire address is printed on pp. 108–15. In at least one instance, Lincoln's championing of the rule of law and his criticism of the mobocratic spirit were apparently related to specific issues in dispute between the Whig and the Democratic parties. (See *ibid.*, 69.)

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 111–12. Perhaps Lincoln the Whig was here thinking of Democrat Andrew Jackson. Edmund Wilson has suggested that in this speech Lincoln "projected himself into the role" against which he warned his listeners. (Edmund Wilson, "Abraham Lincoln: The Union as Religious Mysticism" [1953], reprinted in his *Eight Essays* [New York, 1954], 191; see also pp. 190, 202.)

¹⁷ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler et al., I, 112, 115.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 112–13.

Lincoln's suggestion that, until proper legal provisions were made, grievances should be borne, "if not too intolerable," is worth noting. Despite the ambiguity introduced by that phrase, the implication, both in the quotation above and in the address as a whole, was quite different from the emphasis shown in his congressional speech of 1848 describing the overturn of a government by a majority or a minority, "being inclined and having the power." In this 1838 address before the Young Men's Lyceum, Lincoln expressed the respect for law-abiding, nonviolent, and nonrevolutionary procedures that characterized much of his thinking.

This was certainly apparent in Lincoln's approach to "the slavery question" in the 1840's and 1850's, for he insisted in regard to that question that legal, constitutional, and nonrevolutionary rights and procedures be maintained. The aspect of Lincoln's stand on the slavery question which is most important to the "right of revolution" is that in the late 1850's, as the controversy over slavery became more acute in political life and as Lincoln's role in that controversy became more prominent, he consistently defined his position as nonrevolutionary and/or antirevolutionary.

To appreciate the importance of Lincoln's nonrevolutionary or antirevolutionary stand in regard to the slavery controversy, it should be remembered that in the political arguments of the late 1850's the designation "revolutionary" was applied by Lincoln's opponents to his ideas and to the ideas of his (Republican) political party. In the famous debates with Douglas in 1858, for example, Douglas called Lincoln's doctrine of the house divided "revolutionary and destructive of the existence of this government," described the Illinois Republican platform of 1854 as a "revolutionary platform," and pictured Lincoln as the candidate of a party with "revolutionary principles."¹⁹ Some southerners made similar comments, and Lincoln showed his awareness of the comments, for he mentioned in at least two important addresses delivered in 1860 the fact that southerners charged northerners of his type with being "revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort."²⁰

When, however, Lincoln described his stand and that of his political party on questions pertaining to slavery, he emphasized, not the "revolutionary," but the law-abiding aspect. Evidence in support of this statement can be found throughout his comments in the late 1850's; a typical description by Lincoln of his and the Republican party's law-abiding and constitution-abiding position toward slavery was made at Edwardsville, Illinois, in 1858:

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 8, 62, 166. A newspaper critical of Lincoln referred, in reporting one of his speeches in 1858, to the "revolutionary heresies" contained in resolutions adopted by Lincoln's political party. (*Ibid.*, 245.)

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 537 (Cooper Institute Address); IV, 27 (Address at New Haven).

The Republican party . . . hold that . . . slavery is an unqualified evil. . . . Regarding it an evil, they will not molest it in the States where it exists; they will not overlook the constitutional guards which our forefathers have placed around it; they will do nothing which can give proper offence to those who hold slaves by legal sanction; but they will use every constitutional method to prevent the evil from becoming larger.²¹

Illustrating the way in which Lincoln established his stand toward slavery in nonrevolutionary terms was the selective manner in which he invoked the sanction of Thomas Jefferson. In the 1850's Lincoln equated his own political position with Jefferson's principles and repeatedly justified his opposition to slavery by citing the Declaration of Independence, insisting that Negroes should not be excluded from the Declaration's proposition that "all men are created equal."²² But he did not cite that section of the Declaration which asserted the "right of revolution," and one searches Lincoln's words of those years in vain for mention of the Declaration's justification of the "right of revolution." On at least one occasion, he seemed to disparage the revolutionary nature of the Declaration, praising Jefferson because he had included the great principle of human freedom in what was otherwise a "merely revolutionary document."²³ It was on Jefferson's statements of the freedom and equality of all human beings that Lincoln took his stand in the slavery controversy, not on Jefferson's assertion of the "right of revolution."

Similarly, when Lincoln publicly discussed the Dred Scott decision in the late 1850's, he not only did not assert a "right of revolution," but he explicitly stated that his position was not revolutionary. "We believe," stated Lincoln in June 1857,

in obedience to, and respect for the judicial department of government. We think its decision on Constitutional questions, when fully settled, should control, not only the particular cases decided, but the general policy of the country, subject to be disturbed only by amendments of the Constitution as provided in that instrument itself. More than this would be revolution. But we think the Dred Scott decision is erroneous. We know the court that made it, has often over-ruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to have it to [*sic*] over-rule this. We offer no *resistance* to it [*italics Lincoln's*].²⁴

Repeatedly in 1858, 1859, and 1860, Lincoln discussed the Dred Scott deci-

²¹ *Ibid.*, III, 92. For additional instances in which Lincoln described his position on slavery as law-abiding and constitutional, see: II, 156, 401, 454, 494; III, 311, 368, 435, 460; IV, 50 (Aug. 26, 1852-May 17, 1860).

²² *Ibid.*, II, 130-31, 318, 405, 407; III, 375; IV, 240 (July 6, 1852-Feb. 22, 1861).

²³ *Ibid.*, III, 376. "Lincoln defended the Declaration," wrote Carl Becker, "as defining an ideal to be attained 'as soon as circumstances should permit.' But he carefully refrained from subscribing to the doctrine that natural rights could be conceived as a 'higher law' which justified violent revolution." (Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas* [New York, 1922, 1942], 243, n. 4.)

²⁴ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler et al., II, 401.

sion, consistently stating his opposition to it in nonrevolutionary terms.²⁵

John Brown's raid into Virginia in October 1859 was the most important incident during the controversies over slavery in the late 1850's in which there was an actual resort to what may accurately be called "revolutionary" methods of force and violence. It disregarded law and employed revolutionary force and violence with the design to establish a new government.²⁶ Supporting Brown were some of the intellectual leaders of the day, particularly those in Massachusetts, and Thoreau defended Brown's deed in words that justified revolutionary actions.²⁷ By contrast, Lincoln criticized Brown and his methods. In three public speeches delivered in Kansas within a few days of Brown's execution (December 2, 1859), Lincoln denounced the raid on Harpers Ferry and phrased his criticism in terms of opposition to methods of force and violence: "We have a means provided for the expression of our belief in regard to Slavery—it is through the ballot box—the peaceful method provided by the Constitution. . . . no man, North or South, can approve of violence or crime."²⁸ A few months later, in public addresses in eastern states, Lincoln disassociated his political party from Brown's raid, and, a little more than two months before he was inaugurated President, wrote to a prominent southerner and criticized lawless methods in words that apparently referred to the raid.²⁹ Although an opponent of slavery, Lincoln was also the opponent of lawless and revolutionary methods of attacking the institution.

By the time Lincoln was inaugurated President in March 1861, his actions, speeches, and writings thus revealed two distinct patterns relevant to the "right of revolution." On the one hand, he had upheld the "right of revolution" in the 1840's and early 1850's, primarily in a social context in which it seemed to be implied that the employment of force and violence would advance the cause of national independence from tyrannical rule and the extension of political democracy. On the other hand, in the context of such issues as mob violence and the disputes over the institution of slavery within the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 462-67, 494-96, 516-19, 526, 539-41; III, 19-24, 27-30, 45-48, 78, 80-81, 92, 95-96, 128-33, 179, 250-51, 255, 277-79, 282-83, 298-99, 317-18, 404-405, 423-24, 499-500, 533, 543-46 (June 16, 1858-Feb. 27, 1860).

²⁶ There are accounts of John Brown's raid in: Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (6 vols., New York, 1947-60), IV, 5-27, 70-97, 98-112; Avery Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (Baton Rouge, La., 1953), 305-11; C. Vann Woodward, "John Brown's Private War," *America in Crisis*, ed. Daniel Aaron (New York, 1952), 108-30; Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown, 1800-1859* (Philadelphia, 1910), 391-510.

²⁷ *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau* (20 vols., Walden ed., Boston, 1906), IV, 433-34; see also Gilman M. Ostrander, "Emerson, Thoreau, and John Brown," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXIX (Mar. 1953), 713-26.

²⁸ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, III, 496. The three speeches in Kansas are printed on pp. 495-504.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 538-39; IV, 7, 23-24, 162.

functioning constitutional democracy of the United States, Lincoln had not upheld the "right of revolution," but had instead expressed opposition to the use of revolutionary force and violence in effecting social changes and had supported the rule of law and order. These two patterns might, in any given situation, be reconciled only with great difficulty, and such a situation seemed to face Lincoln upon his assuming the presidency in the midst of the secession crisis.

As soon as Lincoln became President, he was faced with a situation that had direct relevance to the "right of revolution."³⁰ For, by March 4, 1861, seven southern states had announced their secession from the Union, and four others were later to follow their lead. Some southerners, including Robert E. Lee, described secession as "revolution," and, although many of the justifications advanced by secessionists claimed legal and constitutional (rather than revolutionary) sanction for their actions, yet there were some secessionists who invoked the "right of revolution." The members of the Tennessee secession convention, for example, called their secession ordinance a "Declaration of Independence" and claimed "the right as a free and independent people to alter, reform, or abolish our form of Government in such a manner as we think proper."³¹ Some Confederate supporters soon compared the actions of the secessionists to the revolutionary struggles of the Greeks, the French, and the Hungarians, and recalled Lincoln's 1848 statement in support of the "right of revolution."³²

Faced with this crisis in which some individuals claimed the "right of revolution" against the government of which he was the elected leader, Lincoln discussed the "right of revolution" in two major state papers delivered in the opening months of his presidency: in his inaugural address of March 4, 1861, and in his message to the special war session of Congress on July 4, 1861. In his inaugural address, he upheld the "right of revolution" in two separate and unambiguous statements:

³⁰ The "right of revolution" and the Civil War crisis are discussed in: J. T. Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority* (New York, 1930), 194-200; Dwight L. Dumond, *The Secession Movement, 1860-1861* (New York, 1931), 120-21; Kenneth M. Stampp, *And the War Came* (Baton Rouge, La., 1950), 34-36; Craven, *Growth of Southern Nationalism*, 351-52, 355, 359, 361, 366, 377; James C. Malin, *On the Nature of History* (Lawrence, Kan., 1954), 204-205; Chapman, "Right of Revolution and the Rights of Man," 576-88, esp. 577-81.

³¹ *The Rebellion Record*, ed. Frank Moore (12 vols., New York, 1861-71), I, doc. p. 203. It is worth noting that some of the southerners who claimed the "right of revolution" in the secession era were, like Robert Barnwell Rhett, lawyers by training and by occupation; in that crisis, as in the American Revolution, there were lawyers who, unlike Lincoln, championed the "right of revolution" rather than the maintenance of "law and order." For the views of Rhett, see Laura A. White, *Robert Barnwell Rhett* (New York, 1931), *passim*.

³² See, e.g., T. W. MacMahon, *Cause and Contrast* (Richmond, Va., 1862), 153 n.; *The Index* (London, 1862-65), III (Oct. 29, 1863), 426; Bernard Janin Sage, *Davis and Lee* (New York, 1866), 10-11.

If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would, if such right were a vital one.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it, or their *revolutionary* right to dismember, or overthrow it [*italics Lincoln's*].⁸³

In these two statements, Lincoln advanced further toward a definition of the “right of revolution” than in his earlier remarks, for he now distinguished between a “constitutional” right of amending a government and a “revolutionary” right of overthrowing it. This distinction placed the “right of revolution” (the right of overthrowing a government) outside the realm of law and constitutionality, and Lincoln implied that its proper realm was that of ethics or morality; the “right of revolution” thus became a “moral” right. Lincoln also described more explicitly than in his previous remarks the conditions that warranted the resort to revolution. His words in 1861 seemed to say that in a constitutional democracy such as the United States the “right of revolution” justified “the people” (the majority of the people?) in overthrowing the government whenever they grew weary of it, and that it justified a minority of the people in revolting if the majority deprived it of any “vital” and “clearly written constitutional right.”

What, though, if a minority in a constitutional democracy revolted even though the majority had not deprived it of any “vital” and “clearly written constitutional right”? Lincoln suggested that such was the situation in the United States in March 1861, and in that situation he did not say that the “right of revolution” gave moral sanction to the minority for the employment of force. Instead, he predicted that such employment of force, in the form of secession, would lead either to anarchy or to despotism:

Plainly, the central idea of secession, is the essence of anarchy. A majority, held in restraint by constitutional checks, and limitations, and always changing easily, with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy, or despotism in some form, is all that is left.⁸⁴

Lincoln centered attention on this problem in his message to Congress on July 4, 1861—the problem posed when a minority in a constitutional democracy resorted to revolutionary force and violence even though, as Lincoln

⁸³ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, IV, 267, 269; the entire address is printed on pp. 249–71.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 268. Lincoln described secession as illegal and revolutionary in his July 4 message to Congress. (*Ibid.*, 434–35.)

maintained, the constitutional system had not been breached by the majority. For, in the interval between the inaugural address and the July 4 message to Congress, there had been resort to armed force at Fort Sumter, and war had commenced between Union and Confederate forces. Lincoln described the actions of his Confederate opponents as a revolution, but he did not consider their actions morally justified by the "right of revolution." He summarized his position in four terse sentences:

The right of revolution, is never a legal right. The very term implies the breaking, and not the abiding by, organic law. At most, it is but a moral right, when exercised for a morally justifiable cause. When exercised without such a cause revolution is no right, but simply a wicked exercise of physical power.³⁵

In short, the "right of revolution" provided moral (not legal or constitutional) justification for the exercise of force and violence only under a special condition: "when exercised for a morally justifiable cause."

The primary emphasis in Lincoln's July 4 message was placed, not upon the "moral" right of a minority to revolt, but upon the "moral" right of a majority to defend a democratic and constitutional government against internal attack from a minority. Lincoln described and justified his position in two often-quoted passages: the minority assailants of the government had, he declared, by their armed assault on Fort Sumter, forced upon the country the

distinct issue: "Immediate dissolution, or blood." And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man, the question, whether a constitutional republic, or a democracy—a government of the people, by the same people—can, or cannot, maintain its territorial integrity, against its own domestic foes. It presents the question, whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control administration, according to organic law, in any case, can always, upon the pretences made in this case, or on any other pretences, or arbitrarily, without any pretence, break up their Government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth.³⁶

The supporters of popular government, the majority in this case, must now demonstrate to the world, Lincoln continued, "that those who can fairly carry an election, can also suppress a rebellion—that ballots are the rightful,

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 434, n. 83. These four sentences, we are told by the editor of the *Collected Works*, were in the manuscript version of the message to Congress, but were not in the text "as revised in first proof," nor in the second proof text of the message containing Lincoln's final revisions; no official copy of the message has been found, "although engrossed official copies of Lincoln's later Messages are in the National Archives." Thus, these four sentences here quoted were apparently not in the message which was sent to Congress. (*Ibid.*, 421, n. 1, 434, n. 83.) In the second proof text of the message "containing Lincoln's final revisions," and probably the version which was sent to Congress, these two sentences appear: "The States have their *status* in the Union, and they have no other *legal status*. If they break from this, they can only do so against law, and by revolution [*italics Lincoln's*]." (*Ibid.*, 434.)

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 426.

and peaceful, successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally, decided, there can be no successful appeal, except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections.”³⁷

It was on this note that Lincoln seems to have rested his direct analysis of the “right of revolution,” for he apparently did not discuss the question explicitly in his writings after 1861. Various aspects of his actions and attitudes during the war years may have had some relationship to his ideas concerning the “right of revolution,” such as treating captured Confederates as prisoners of war rather than as traitors, or the discussion by Lincoln of the problem of violating part of the Constitution while waging war in order to preserve the entire constitutional system. But Lincoln seems to have made no direct and explicit comment on the “right of revolution” after the July 4, 1861, message. The theme expressed in that message, which was repeatedly emphasized by Lincoln in his wartime writings, was the right, and the duty, of a majority to preserve a system of constitutional democracy against an unjustified revolt.

Lincoln’s 1861 position included both the “right of revolution” and what might be called the “right of opposing unjustified revolution” (or the “right of counterrevolution”). In effect, Lincoln removed the favored status conferred on revolutionary movements, *per se*, by the doctrine of the “right of revolution.” That concept had bestowed on revolutionary movements an aura of moral superiority by conveying the impression that revolutionary movements were always on the side of enlightenment and humanity. By contrast, in his two messages of 1861 Lincoln said in substance that revolution, *per se*, was no better than opposition to revolution (or counterrevolution), *per se*. For, just as individuals had a moral right, under certain circumstances, to revolt, so they had a moral right, under other circumstances, to put down revolt. In Lincoln’s formulation, the criterion of judgment was not primarily which side of the barricades one occupied (the revolutionary side or the counterrevolutionary side), but rather what was the substantive issue at stake over the barricades. Thus, in summary, the Lincolnian “right of revolution” as finally stated in 1861 was a “moral” right, as opposed to a legal right, and was a “conditional” right in the sense that it was applicable and relevant only on condition that it was being exercised for a morally justifiable cause.

One conclusion that can be drawn from a consideration of Lincoln’s ideas and actions concerning the “right of revolution” is that his ideas and actions varied from one social and political situation to another as his own interest

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 439.

or his own perception of the issues varied. Lincoln held different views, as Professor Richard Current has noted, when he was “a politicking congressman” than when he was “a chief executive facing an imminent and overwhelming crisis”; he “liked revolutions best when they were long ago or far away.”³⁸ A second and related conclusion might be that Lincoln’s experience concerning the “right of revolution” illustrates the commonly stated generalization that the ideas of individuals in the United States, particularly their political ideas, generally have roots as much or more in practical circumstances than in theoretical postulates. Without denying a considerable measure of validity to each of these two conclusions, one might supplement them (not replace them) with a third conclusion: that Lincoln’s synthesis of his ideas concerning the “right of revolution” is distinguishable from the thought of a number of other individuals because of its comprehensiveness and its depth. Perhaps he was led to his opinions partly through “opportunism” in adjusting his views to a variety of situations and partly through a mind that probed deeper and had a wider vision than most. Whatever the cause or source of Lincoln’s views on the “right of revolution,” their comprehensiveness and depth seem impressive.

Some individuals have supported the “right of revolution” as a way of redressing social injustices and of advancing toward a more humane world, apparently without exploring the possibility that exercise of the “right of revolution” might increase, rather than decrease, social injustices and might hinder progress toward a more humane world. Other individuals have opposed the “right of revolution” as a concept that would bring social anarchy, apparently without exploring the possibility that in some situations exercise of the “right of revolution” might produce a more stable or a more enlightened society. The distinctive quality of Lincoln’s ideas in 1861 was that they examined both the possibility of desirable exercises of the “right of revolution” and also the possibility of undesirable exercises of that “right”—and examined those possibilities in greater depth than did Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence, or Calhoun’s speech of January 5, 1837, or Thoreau’s essay on “Civil Disobedience,” or Motley’s letter of May 23, 1861, or Grant’s remarks in his *Personal Memoirs*.³⁹ Lincoln’s synthesis could encompass the comments made in the 1950’s by both Schlesinger and Hand.

Lincoln’s formulation of the “right of revolution” in 1861 did not eliminate the possibilities of dispute and disagreement, if we assume that human beings will never reach complete agreement on whether the goal of a given

³⁸ See comments of Richard N. Current, described in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVII (Sept. 1960), 282.

³⁹ The citation for these writings is given in n. 3

revolution is “morally justified,” or whether a constitution has, or has not, been violated. There are, moreover, dimensions of the subject that were not covered in Lincoln’s words; even, for example, if one were “morally justified” in employing force and violence, it might not be wise or expedient to do so. What Lincoln did, however, was to provide insight and standards for the evaluation of any particular exercise of the “right of revolution.” One measure of the comprehensiveness and depth of his probing analysis, in my opinion, is its relevance to the revolution-haunted world of the twentieth century.

Desegregation in New Orleans Public Schools during Reconstruction

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IT is a fact not generally known even to historians that the New Orleans public schools during the Reconstruction period underwent substantial racial desegregation over a period of six and a half years, an experience shared by no other southern community until after 1954 and by few northern communities at the time. This essay is limited to a summary of the evidence that there was indeed desegregation in New Orleans in the 1870's and to an effort to explain it chiefly in terms of circumstances in New Orleans at the time. It is obvious that New Orleans, as the only real urban center in the overwhelmingly rural South, could not be an example from which any general conclusions can be drawn about Reconstruction in the region or even in Louisiana as a whole. The experience of one southern urban community during Reconstruction, however, may hold interest for students of the rapidly urbanizing contemporary South.

For a generation of historians rather suddenly concerned with past struggles over civil rights, the interest of this study lies partly in the new crop that it makes in the much-plowed field of Reconstruction history. The historians both of Louisiana Reconstruction¹ and of southern education² have pronounced the desegregation experiment of New Orleans an almost total failure. The conclusions of historians of the Dunning school may be explained by their preoccupation with political themes or their racialistic and sectional blind spots, but perhaps a better explanation is that they read in the partisan

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¹ Alcée Fortier, *Louisiana Studies* (New Orleans, 1894), 267-68; John R. Ficklen, *History of Reconstruction in Louisiana* (Baltimore, 1910), 207-208; Ella Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868* (New York, 1918), 54-55, 357; John S. Kendall, *History of New Orleans* (3 vols., Chicago, 1922), I, 331, 665; Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana* (University, La., 1939), 226; Garnie W. McGinty, *Louisiana Redeemed* (New Orleans, 1941), 24. George W. Cable, *Strange True Stories of Louisiana* (New York, 1889), 221-32, is more accurate, though limited to a single public school.

² Horace M. Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York, 1934), 52; Charles W. Dabney, *Universal Education in the South* (2 vols., Chapel Hill, N. C., 1936), I, 368-71; Harry S. Ashmore, *The Negro and the Schools* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1954), 7-8; John Hope Franklin, "Jim Crow Goes to School," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LVIII (Spring 1959), 225-35; Alfred H. Kelly, "The Congressional Controversy over School Segregation, 1867-1875," *American Historical Review*, LXIV (Apr. 1959), 537-63.

press the headlined stories of white walkouts and Negro evictions, but failed to note the undramatic evidence of the return of most of these pupils in the following days and months. Historians of southern education seem to have relied too heavily on a secondary source by the Louisiana educational historian Thomas H. Harris, who in turn depended vaguely on the "testimony of men who lived through the period." Harris declared in 1924: "The schools were never mixed. The law was evaded from the first, and the negroes were about as active in evading it as the whites."³

It is with some surprise, therefore, that we read the testimony in 1874 of Thomas W. Conway, the Radical state superintendent and prime mover of New Orleans desegregation:

I had fully concluded to put the system of mixed schools to a thorough, practical test, and I did. The white pupils all left . . . and the school-house was virtually in the hands of the colored pupils. This was the picture one day. What will you think when I tell you that before I reached my office that day, the children of both races who, on the school question, seemed like deadly enemies, were, many of them, joined in a circle, playing on the green, under the shade of the wide-spreading live oak. In a few days I went back to see how the school was progressing, and, to my surprise, found nearly all the former pupils returned to their places; and that the school, like all the schools in the city, reported at the close of the year a larger attendance than at any time since the close of the war. The children were simply kind to each other in the school-room as in the streets and elsewhere! A year ago I visited the same school and saw therein about as many colored children as whites, with not a single indication of any ill-feeling whatever.

All that is wanted in this matter of civil rights is to let the foes of the measure simply understand that we mean it. Do this, and as in the case of the enemies of free schools in Louisiana, they will be quiet.⁴

The whole truth, of course, embraces both the historians' evidence of evasion and strident resistance and Conway's idyl of dancing on the green. Evasion lasted for three years, until the last legal recourse was exhausted, and then desegregation began. As desegregation spread slowly into more and more schools, as Conway said, there was indeed resistance, but it was fruitless, sporadic, separated by long periods of tacit acceptance, and successful in the end only because Reconstruction itself failed.

The forces of evasion were in effect even before the state constitution in 1867 prohibited the establishment of separate schools and required that no public school should deny admission on account of race or color.⁵ On the eve

³ Thomas H. Harris, *The Story of Public Education in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1924), 30; an undocumented work.

⁴ Conway to the editor of the *Washington National Republican*, in *Washington New National Era*, June 4, 1874.

⁵ *New Orleans Tribune*, Oct. 27, 1867 [all New Orleans newspapers hereafter cited without place name].

of the constitutional convention the city hastily established its first Negro schools to give credibility to its stand for "separate but equal" rather than desegregated schools,⁶ and Freedmen's Bureau officials opposed to mixed schools⁷ hastily transferred their local schools to the city board.⁸ State Superintendent Robert M. Lusher resigned before the end of his term to become the state agent of the Peabody Education Fund, which spent more money in Louisiana than in any other state to aid a system of private white schools.⁹

In New Orleans, where whites outnumbered Negroes nearly three to one, white Republicans in the city government cooperated with the city school board in efforts to thwart Superintendent Conway in his equally determined effort to give desegregation a thorough trial in that city. The city's newspapers meanwhile undertook to create an atmosphere of resistance and fear, advocating desertion of the schools en masse by the whites, establishment of private schools, and refusal to pay school taxes, and predicting the destruction of the public schools and race war.¹⁰ The city school board resorted to a pupil placement system¹¹ and all of the legal stratagems so familiar today. The loopholes of every school law were sought out, and a bewildering succession of suits and injunctions cluttered the courts. At one time five school cases were simultaneously on the dockets. Finally the sands of delay ran out; a court decision of December 1870 was acknowledged by all parties to be decisive, and desegregation began within a month.¹²

To overcome the forces of delay and evasion, the Radicals found it necessary to centralize and strengthen the school system. The city school board was replaced by another appointed by the state board of education, which in turn was appointed by the governor. The city board was allowed by state law

⁶ *Tribune*, July 24, 1867; *Times*, July 31, Sept. 19, Oct. 1, 9, 11, 15, 16, 20, 1867; *Crescent*, Sept. 15, 17, 1867; Minutes of New Orleans City Board of School Directors [hereafter cited as Sch. Bd. Min.], Sept. 16, Oct. 2, 9, 1867 (VII, 203-14, 219-26), MSS volumes in Orleans Parish School Board Office, New Orleans.

⁷ L. Jolissaint, Parish of Orleans School Report, Sept. 15, 1868, Tri-Monthly Report Book of Office of Assistant Sub-Assistant Commissioner, Parish of Orleans, Louisiana, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, National Archives; *Crescent*, Sept. 17, 1867; *Picayune*, Dec. 4, 1867.

⁸ Sch. Bd. Min., Nov. 6, Dec. 4, 1867 (VII, 235-37, 251-53); *Times*, Dec. 25, 1867.

⁹ *Picayune*, Apr. 14, 1868; Peabody Education Fund, *Proceedings of the Trustees* (6 vols., Boston, 1867-1914), I, 91, 262-63, 408-12, 434-39 (July 1868, Feb. 1871, Oct. 1874).

¹⁰ See, e.g., *Picayune*, Oct. 22, 1867, Aug. 13, 1868, Nov. 24, 1870; *Commercial Bulletin*, Feb. 7, 1870; *Times*, May 2, 1868, Feb. 17, Apr. 10, 1870.

¹¹ Sch. Bd. Min., May 21, 27, 1868 (VII, 323, 327-28). According to the *Picayune*, Jan. 12, 1871, "everything worked smoothly, attempts at mixing the schools being frustrated by the plan adopted by Mr. Van Norden, the President of the Board, who issued permits on which alone admission could be gained, to applicants, and taking good care that no negroes were admitted into white schools."

¹² *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Education for the Year 1870* [hereafter cited as *Annual Report*] (New Orleans, 1871), 17-28; *Picayune* and *Times* throughout 1869-1870, esp. *Times*, Dec. 20, 1870; *Picayune*, Jan. 12, 1871; *Commercial Bulletin*, Jan. 11, 12, 1871. On earlier desegregation efforts, see *ibid.*, Apr. 27, 30, May 17, 18, June 30, 1870; Sch. Bd. Min., May 21, 27, June 3, 1868 (VII, 322-28, 336-37).

to estimate its annual needs and require the city government to levy and collect a local tax sufficient to supply the amount. The high salaries that this arrangement made possible, though often tardily paid, attracted good local teachers and created a reasonably good *esprit de corps*.

The extent of desegregation cannot be measured precisely because the official reports made no separate accounting of the races and because the population of New Orleans was so peculiarly mixed, with so many very light colored persons and swarthy white ones, that observers often found it impossible to distinguish between them.¹³ Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence of desegregation in official records and in newspapers, particularly in the reports of the annual examinations or closing exercises of the schools. From such sources it is possible to identify by name twenty-one desegregated schools and some others that may have been desegregated, about one-third of the city's public schools.¹⁴ The school authorities at no time initiated desegregation, but simply required the admission of Negro children to white or mixed schools whenever they applied. Thus by choice or social pressure a majority of the city's school children attended either the separate Negro schools or white schools.¹⁵ A surprising number of colored children, nevertheless, entered mixed schools under this arrangement. In 1877 the number was estimated at three hundred,¹⁶ but that was some six months after the end of Reconstruction. Other evidence indicates that between five hundred and one thousand Negroes and several thousand whites attended mixed schools at the height of desegregation.¹⁷ Light colored children, who could move about more easily in the white world, were usually the first to enter mixed schools and the last to leave them after Reconstruction, but children "as black as ebony"

¹³ *Times*, Oct. 6, 1873; *Louisianian*, Sept. 4, 1875.

¹⁴ These were: Barracks, Bayou Bridge, Bayou Road, Beauregard, Bienville, Central Boys' High, Claiborne, Fillmore, Fisk, Franklin, Keller, Lower Girls' High, Madison, Paulding, Pontchartrain (Milneburg), Rampart, Robertson, St. Anne, St. Philip, Spain, Webster schools certainly desegregated, and Cut-off Road, Dunn, Gentilly, McDonoghville vaguely reported to be so. See *Bulletin*, Jan. 11, Feb. 1, 1871, Dec. 11, 18, 19, 1874; *Republican*, Apr. 12, 1873, Dec. 12, 1874; *Picayune*, June 23, 1871, Dec. 11, 12, 19, 1874, Feb. 19, Nov. 10, 1875, Nov. 20, 1876, Dec. 6, 1877; *Times*, Apr. 10, June 7, Oct. 6, Dec. 13, 1873, Dec. 18, 19, 1874, Feb. 19, 1875, Sept. 20, 22, 1876; *L'Abeille*, Dec. 18, 1874; report on Claiborne Boys' School, Mar. 10, 1873, Special Reports of Principals, Louisiana Department of Education Miscellaneous Papers, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University; *Annual Report*, 1872, 242-43. Contemporaries estimated that between one-third and one-half of the schools were desegregated. *Annual Report*, 1872, 18; *Republican*, July 18, 1873, Sept. 16, 1875; Edward Lawrence, "Color in the New Orleans Schools," *Harper's Weekly*, XIX (Feb. 13, 1875), 147-48; *Louisianian*, Feb. 13, 1875.

¹⁵ *Annual Reports*, 1869, 13, 1871, 308.

¹⁶ City Superintendent William O. Rogers, in *Annual Report*, 1877, 303.

¹⁷ The six leading desegregated schools alone were reported to have more than five hundred Negro pupils. *Picayune*, Dec. 11, 1874; *Times*, June 7, Dec. 13, 1873, Dec. 18, 1874; *Bulletin*, Dec. 19, 1874; *Republican*, Apr. 12, 1873; report on Claiborne Boys' School, Mar. 10, 1873, Education Archives, LSU.

were reported "side by side with the fairest Caucasians" in the same classrooms.¹⁸

All of the five mixed schools with seventy-five or more Negroes enrolled were in the Second and Third Districts, below Canal Street, where descendants of the original French and Spanish inhabitants and the Irish, German, and Italian immigrants predominated. In this downtown area there was no rigid residential separation, and the houses of prostitution as well as school-houses were desegregated, though without causing as much public excitement. Since nearly all of the schools in these districts were desegregated,¹⁹ one might assume that the character of the Latin or immigrant population explained everything. But this is not so. Negro residential areas were dispersed throughout the city, and some of the largest schools in the so-called American districts, the First and Fourth, contained Negro children.²⁰ One of these, the Fisk School, contained "a considerable number."²¹ Below New Orleans proper, in the Fifth and Seventh Districts, the scattered settlements on both sides of the river contained some desegregated primary schools.²² Of the city's three public high schools, two were desegregated. At the Lower Girls' High School, desegregation proceeded peacefully for years, about one-fifth of the students being colored.²³ At the Central Boys' High several Negro pupils attended after 1875,²⁴ and a Negro was professor of mathematics there for two years, until after the end of Reconstruction.²⁵

Desegregation caused only a temporary decline of enrollment in the schools as a whole and in the mixed schools themselves. Enrollment dropped from 24,892 to 19,091 in the first year of desegregation, but then rose steadily to 26,251 in 1875, which was higher than at any other time in the nineteenth century.²⁶ The report that 21,000 of these were white and 5,000 colored²⁷

¹⁸ *Bulletin*, Dec. 15, 1874.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1874; *L'Abeille*, Apr. 16, 1876.

²⁰ Fisk, Franklin, Madison, Paulding, and Webster Schools in the First District and Keller School in the Fourth District.

²¹ *Times*, Dec. 18, 1874.

²² Pontchartrain, Cut-off Road, Dunn, Gentilly, and McDonoghville.

²³ Cable, *Strange True Stories of Louisiana*, 219-32; Dora R. Miller to Cable, May 31, 1889, Feb. 10, May 5, 1890, George W. Cable Papers, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University; *Republican*, Apr. 12, 1873; *Times*, Dec. 17, 18, 1874.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 13, Feb. 4, 1875; *Bulletin*, Jan. 13, 1875; *Picayune*, Feb. 19, 1875; *Republican*, Mar. 3, 1875.

²⁵ Harris, *Public Education in Louisiana*, 46; Sch. Bd. Min., Sept. 11, 1875, Dec. 6, 1876, Nov. 7, 1877 (VIII, 60, 200, IX, 174, 177).

²⁶ *Annual Reports*, 1871, 321, 326, 1875, 12, 1877, 289, 1879, 13; Robert M. Lusher, MSS autobiography, June 1890, Robert M. Lusher Papers, LSU. Kendall, *History of New Orleans*, II, 531, reported 23,668 enrolled in 1899.

²⁷ *Picayune*, Jan. 12, 1875, as reported in *Times-Picayune*, Jan. 25, 1937, clipping in New Orleans Public Schools vertical file, Louisiana Room, LSU; *Times*, Oct. 6, 1873; *Annual Report*, 1877, 303.

indicates that there were actually more white pupils in the public schools during desegregation than either before or after.

In the desegregated schools the same trend was evident. The Fillmore Boys' School in the Third District, for example, was desegregated in 1871, when its enrollment was 377, and soon contained 100 colored pupils. In 1873 the conservative *New Orleans Times* reported 700 enrolled, "wonderful" attendance, and good discipline. Fillmore School was the largest in the city, crowded to capacity. In 1874 its enrollment reached 890, and the following year more of its graduates qualified for the high school, through competitive examinations, than those of any other boys' school.²⁸ Other mixed schools with large Negro enrollments had similar records of increasing enrollment and high academic standing. At the Bienville School, where attendance was cut in half in 1871 by desegregation and a river flood, both enrollment and average attendance by 1874 exceeded the levels prior to desegregation. It sent more of its graduates to high school in 1873 than any two other boys' schools.²⁹

Why would desegregated schools be so crowded in a community as race conscious as New Orleans? The explanation seems to be that the quality of instruction was higher in those schools than in most of the others, because of the system of classification of elementary schools. Nearly all the mixed schools were classified as Grammar A schools, which had more teachers and a higher salary scale, and sent more graduates to the high schools than the Grammar B schools and Primary schools. Apparently this was why Negro children chose to enter them and why whites also attended them regardless of color, so that their enrollment steadily increased. Most of the Negro schools were Grammar B, and, according to report, "the mixed schools are the best in the city, and the colored schools the poorest—the poorest in quarters, furniture, text-books, and in every way."³⁰

Desegregation of the public schools caused enrollment in private and parochial schools to increase, but not enough to damage the public schools. The most ambitious plan of the period, "an elaborate design for the establishment of schools by private enterprise," was presented to a mass meeting of citizens of the Second and Third Districts by former state superintendent Robert M. Lusher.³¹ It temporarily evoked much enthusiasm, but Lusher

²⁸ *Picayune*, June 23, 1871, Dec. 12, 1874; *Times*, Dec. 13, 1873; *Annual Reports*, 1874, 183, 1875, 208.

²⁹ *Commercial Bulletin*, Jan. 12, 31, 1871; *Picayune*, June 23, Dec. 11, 1871; *Republican*, June 23, 1871; *Times*, June 7, Oct. 6, Dec. 12, 1873; *Annual Reports*, 1871, 375, 1874, 183, 1875, 208–10.

³⁰ *Republican*, July 18, 1873; *Times*, June 18, 1870.

³¹ *Commercial Bulletin*, May 25, June 8, 1870; *Times*, May 25, 1870; *Picayune*, June 8, 1870.

later wrote: "The failure of the Canvassers appointed to raise means for making the plan effectual, to collect a sufficient amount, unfortunately caused the plan to be abandoned."³² No coordination of private school efforts was ever developed.

Existing Catholic parochial schools, new Presbyterian and Episcopal parochial schools, and the old and new private schools all expanded. Enrollment in these schools rose from about ten thousand in 1869 to seventeen thousand in 1873, but then declined to fourteen thousand the next year and subsequently even further.³³ "Parochial schools on the pay system are virtually a failure," confessed Father Abram J. Ryan, editor of the local Catholic weekly; the reason he gave was economic: "poor families who have three or four, sometimes eight or ten children . . . cannot possibly send them to the parochial schools at the rate of \$2 or even \$1 per month, each."³⁴ This consideration applied with even greater force to the private schools, where tuition was normally twice as high.³⁵

Predicted racial violence and tax resistance did not materialize, and after experimenting with walkouts from mixed schools and with private schools, the people of New Orleans learned to live with the change. For three years, from the fall of 1871 until the fall of 1874, the tumult and the shouting diminished.³⁶ At the risk of oversimplification, two explanations may be suggested. First, desegregation was administered with such skill that the opposition was disarmed, but foremost, for reasons largely political, thousands of New Orleans whites and the leading newspapers actually sought to win the Negro's vote on a basis of recognizing his civil rights.

Though statesmanlike qualities are not generally attributed to Reconstruction leaders, and the school officials were certainly not plaster saints, they administered the New Orleans schools efficiently and without major scandal. "If an irrational prejudice is exhibited on one side of this question," said Superintendent Conway, "let it not be met by an equally irrational precipitancy on the other side. This great question of education for the people

³² Lusher, autobiographical MSS, May 31, 1889, Lusher Papers; Harris, *Public Education in Louisiana*, 56.

³³ *Annual Reports*, 1869, 27, 76, 1873, 72, 284; *Morning Star and Catholic Messenger*, Jan. 31, 1869, Oct. 18, 1874. The figure for 1869 is a compromise between the state report, which estimated 1,200 in parochial schools, the Catholic press, which estimated 5,000 to 6,000, and the city superintendent, who estimated 15,000. *Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education*, 1873, 547, 1874, 535, 1877, 315 (Washington, D. C., 1874, 1875, 1879), estimate 13,779 enrolled in 1873, 14,235 in 1874, 12,000 in 1877.

³⁴ *Morning Star and Catholic Messenger*, May 22, 1870, July 4, 1875.

³⁵ *Picayune*, Sept. 17, 1875.

³⁶ There were a few exceptions, such as editorials in *Picayune*, Jan. 4, 1872; *Times*, Apr. 10, 1873. Their news columns, however, reported favorably on desegregated schools. See *Times*, Dec. 13, 1872, June 7, 1873; *Picayune*, Sept. 29, Dec. 11, 1872.

... should not be imperiled by injudicious action, even in behalf of a principle confessedly just and equitable."³⁷ Though rewarded with diatribes for their pains,³⁸ Conway, his Negro successor William G. Brown, and City Superintendent Charles W. Boothby pursued a "firm and yet moderate course" and conducted a school system good enough to win loyalty from the teachers and even occasional compliments from the opposition.³⁹

The complex reasons why many New Orleans whites embraced or acquiesced in Negro civil rights between 1871 and 1874 have been treated elsewhere by T. Harry Williams⁴⁰ and can only be outlined here. The central fact was that Louisiana Negroes had a majority of the votes and were protected against intimidation by federal troops. As Reconstruction continued in Louisiana after its demise in other states, native whites realized that they had to win a substantial segment of the Negro vote if they hoped to oust the carpetbaggers. The Negroes were ably led, not so much by the white carpetbaggers as by their own well-educated New Orleans persons of color and Negro carpetbaggers. It was to these colored leaders that the white conservatives made overtures when the inevitable conflicts of interest developed between the white and colored wings of the Radical Republicans.

In 1871 and 1872 New Departure Democrats and new parties that abandoned the Democratic label partly because of its unpopularity among Negroes made bids for Negro votes by platform promises of recognition of civil rights and by parading a few Negro speakers at their rallies.⁴¹ The vague commitments were insufficient to win the Negro vote in the election of 1872, and this failure led to the specific commitments of the unification movement of 1873. Simply stated, the unification movement proposed a fusion of the native white and Negro voters in which the Negroes would promise to assist in ousting the carpetbaggers and cutting the taxes and the whites would guarantee the Negroes full civil rights: suffrage, office holding, desegregated transportation and places of public resort, and mixed schools. Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard, the merchant Isaac N. Marks, and a thousand other New Orleans citizens of both races signed a unification mani-

³⁷ *Annual Reports*, 1869, 12-13, 1871, 47.

³⁸ *Times*, Nov. 24, 1870; *Bulletin*, Oct. 22, 1874; *L'Abeille*, Feb. 21, 1875.

³⁹ The moderation was owing partly to opposition and occasional insubordination. M. C. Cole to Thomas W. Conway, Sept. 9, 1871, William G. Brown to City Board of School Directors, June 1873, Department of Education Archives, LSU; Conway to Henry C. Warmoth, Nov. 18, 1871, Henry C. Warmoth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; *Republican*, Oct. 7, 1870; *Commercial Bulletin*, Apr. 27, 28, 1870; *Times*, May 6, 1870, July 3, 1873.

⁴⁰ T. Harry Williams, "The Louisiana Unification Movement of 1873," *Journal of Southern History*, XI (Aug. 1945), 349-69.

⁴¹ E. John Ellis to Thomas C. W. Ellis, Feb. 29, 1872, E. John and Thomas C. W. Ellis Papers, LSU.

festo endorsing desegregated schools in unmistakable terms and presented it for endorsement to cheering crowds. In this atmosphere it is understandable that the press and pulpits ceased to thunder against desegregation. After Marks had read the school clause of the manifesto to a mass meeting and a voice interrupted to ask, "Will you send your children to the public schools?" that is, to desegregated schools, the question was greeted with "hisses and other demonstrations" and an invitation to leave the hall.⁴² The unification movement failed to achieve the interracial political alliance it sought, because of the reluctance of many whites, particularly in the rural areas, to concede so much to the Negroes, and because of Negro suspicion that the white unificationists would be unwilling or unable to make good their commitments. The movement did give desegregation a breathing spell, however, and its spirit continued to animate some New Orleans whites. Marks, stating his freedom of racial bias, took a seat on the city school board and helped to administer school desegregation.⁴³ In 1875 George W. Cable sent carefully reasoned arguments for mixed schools to a New Orleans paper,⁴⁴ and in the same year David F. Boyd, president of the state university, tried to publish a proposal to desegregate his school.⁴⁵

To most New Orleans whites, however, the failure of unification was the signal for a change in policy and leadership. If Negroes could not be persuaded to vote with the whites, then enough Negroes had to be kept from the polls to ensure a white majority. The White League arose in 1874, spread quickly from the rural parishes to New Orleans, staged a three-day *coup d'état* in September until the arrival of federal troops, and installed a Conservative city government in December. In the same period the position of mixed schools was weakened by the removal from the congressional civil rights bill of the school desegregation clause.⁴⁶ The stage was set for the well-known school riots of December 1874, which reflected the momentary political climate of that period as clearly as the acquiescent mood of the previous three years reflected an opposite policy.

During three days of rioting, mobs often described as high school boys or "boy regulators" rudely ejected from mixed schools colored children who had been peacefully attending for years, insulted teachers, beat and threatened

⁴² *Times*, July 16, 1873; *Picayune*, July 16, 1873.

⁴³ Sch. Bd. Min., Jan. 12, 1876 (VIII, 125).

⁴⁴ These are in George W. Cable, *The Negro Question*, ed. Arlin Turner (Garden City, N. Y., 1958), 26-36.

⁴⁵ David F. Boyd, "Some Ideas on Education: The True Solution of the Question of 'Color' in Our Schools, Colleges & Universities, &c, &c," [Dec. 12 or 13] 1875, Walter L. Fleming Collection, LSU.

⁴⁶ Kelly, "Congressional Controversy over School Segregation," 558; *Picayune*, Dec. 18, 1874.

to hang the city superintendent.⁴⁷ What is not generally understood is that the White League and its newspaper supporters instigated and directed the mobs, which were composed mostly of men and adolescents not enrolled in the high schools, using a handful of high school rowdies as fronts.⁴⁸ Moreover, the riots failed to achieve their objective. Sober citizens persuaded the White League to call off "the boys," and the schools reopened after the holidays on a desegregated basis,⁴⁹ remaining so for another two and a half years, until after Reconstruction.

Even after the end of Reconstruction, it appeared at first that desegregation might survive the change. The schools remained mixed through the remainder of the term, and Negroes were appointed to the school boards.⁵⁰ But when the city school board voted to segregate the schools the following fall, the governor gave a Negro delegation neither aid nor comfort.⁵¹ Resort to the state and federal courts proved equally futile. The Negroes lost three test cases despite the mandatory provisions of the state constitution,⁵² and the constitution itself was rewritten in 1879 to permit separate schools and in 1898 to require them.

An obvious conclusion is that the southern devices of evasion and resistance broke down, largely through their own internal weaknesses. On the other hand, New Orleans whites never really surrendered their concept of the public school as a sort of private club. The chief significance of the New Orleans experiment with desegregation, however, centers around the fact, which was not merely incidental, that it occurred in a deep southern state with a large Negro population.

It was really universal suffrage—Negro suffrage protected by strong federal sanctions—that produced the mixed schools and sustained them through the years of trial. Negro votes in the constitutional convention secured the mixed school clause, and Negro votes elected school officers who would carry it out. Negro votes were the consideration for which whites were will-

⁴⁷ *Times*, *Picayune*, *Bulletin*, *L'Abeille*, *Republican*, *Louisianian* for Dec. 15–19, 1874; a convenient summary is *Annual Report*, 1874, liii–lxxxvi.

⁴⁸ "Notes on Mixed School Embroglio Dec. 1874," at end of Ephraim S. Stoddard diary for 1874–75, Ephraim S. Stoddard Collection, Tulane University; Dora R. Miller to Cable, Feb. 10, May 5, 1890, Cable Papers; Lawrence, "Color in the New Orleans Schools," 147–48; Cable, *Strange True Stories of Louisiana*, 223–32; *Times*, Dec. 19, 20, 1874, Jan. 3, 1875; *Republican*, Dec. 19, 1874; *Picayune*, Dec. 20, 1874; *Louisianian*, Dec. 26, 1874.

⁴⁹ *Bulletin*, Jan. 13, 1875; *Times*, Feb. 4, 19, 1875; *Republican*, Mar. 3, 1875; *L'Abeille*, Apr. 16, 1876.

⁵⁰ Lusher Diary, Mar. 31, 1877, Lusher Papers; Barnes F. Lathrop, ed., "An Autobiography of Francis T. Nicholls, 1834–1881," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XVII (Apr. 1934), 257, 261.

⁵¹ Sch. Bd. Min., June 22, July 3, 1877 (IX, 56–60, 63–64); *Picayune*, June 27, 1877; *Democrat*, June 27, 28, 1877.

⁵² See *Times*, Sept. 27, 28, 30, Oct. 3, 24, 31, Nov. 29, 1877, May 22, 1878; *Picayune*, Oct. 6, 24, 1877; *Louisianian*, Sept. 29, 1877, Nov. 29, 1879.

ing to bargain acquiescence in desegregation. And when the compromise of 1877 removed the federal sanctions for Negro suffrage, the mixed schools were an early casualty. Desegregation was only part of a broader social struggle in which the ballot was the primary lever of power.

New Orleans desegregation is not entirely explained by Negro votes, however, since the Negro majority was in rural Louisiana, where schools were only rarely desegregated.⁵³ In the adjacent rural state of Mississippi, the Negro majority permitted separate schools to be established by a local-option school law.⁵⁴ It would seem that any rural effort at mixed schools in the lower South was foredoomed by the weak economic position of Negro sharecroppers, the lack of demand for educated labor in the cotton fields, and the desire of white planters to maintain racial segregation as a means of social control. In southern states outside of the cotton belt, of course, the Negro minority was too weak politically to win desegregation against almost unanimous white opposition.⁵⁵

If the key to desegregation was to be found in the city, then why was the New Orleans experience so different from that of Charleston, South Carolina?⁵⁶ The South Carolina constitution of 1868 also required desegregation, and that state also had a Negro majority of voters. Yet the state officials successfully opposed desegregation, and neither the Negro legislators nor the Charleston Negro community pressed the issue.⁵⁷ Explanation of the difference between these two urban centers involves consideration of such intangible but very real influences as the singular character of New Orleans and the structure of leadership in the New Orleans Negro community.

With a population of 200,000, New Orleans was metropolitan in size and in the radiating influence of its river trade and railroad connections. Linked with continental Europe by its Creole tradition, its large and diverse immigrant population, and the cultural ties of more recent French *émigrés*, and linked by trade with racially complex Latin America, it was in many re-

⁵³ *Annual Report*, 1871, 120, 189; *Louisianian*, Mar. 13, 1875.

⁵⁴ Governor James L. Alcorn defended this policy in Washington *New Era*, June 2, 1870; *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 3258 (May 9, 1872). Some Negro dissatisfaction is indicated in Vernon L. Wharton, *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1947), 243-46; correspondence from Mississippi in Washington *New National Era*, Apr. 4, May 2, June 6, 1872, Apr. 10, 1873, July 2, 1874.

⁵⁵ See William G. Brownlow in *Congressional Record*, 43 Cong., 1 sess., 4144 (May 27, 1874). Only in Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, states with Negro majorities, did the Reconstruction constitutions contain school desegregation clauses.

⁵⁶ This was suggested by Professor August Meier, Morgan State College, in floor discussion of this paper at the Southern Historical Association meeting, Tulsa, Okla., Nov. 11, 1960.

⁵⁷ Francis B. Simkins and Robert H. Woody, *South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1932), 434-39; Dabney, *Universal Education in the South*, I, 234-35; Richard H. Cain in *Congressional Record*, 43 Cong., 1 sess., 565 (Jan. 10, 1874); *ibid.*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 957, 960, 981 (Feb. 3, 4, 1875). South Carolina did experiment with desegregating its state university.

spects the nation's most cosmopolitan city. Travelers, immigrants, and clients frequently reminded New Orleans citizens that southern racial attitudes and practices were not widely accepted.⁵⁸

In many other ways New Orleans was unique among southern cities. Desegregated worship in the Catholic churches, which claimed about half of the city's population, possibly modified racial attitudes.⁵⁹ The colored population was residentially dispersed throughout the city and was only about one-fourth of the total population; it was not so large as to induce in whites the fear of being engulfed if racial barriers were lowered. The city had opposed secession and was part of the Confederacy less than two years, whereas it underwent Reconstruction for almost nine years prior to desegregation and for some fifteen years in all. The interest of many New Orleans leaders in sugar protection and in federal subsidies for river and harbor improvement and railroads made them ideologically more amenable to Whiggish Republicanism than the cotton planters of the Charleston area. The prominence of New Orleans merchants in the unification movement of 1873 suggests that many of them were more concerned with economic development than with social control. They were willing to compromise on racial issues in order to free themselves from a political regime on which they blamed the city's economic plight. Thus political polarization by race was incomplete and ephemeral.

The vigorous and ambitious leadership of the New Orleans Negro community was also a powerful stimulus to desegregation. The basis for the high quality of this leadership was laid during the slavery period, when the free Negroes of New Orleans enjoyed a status "probably unequaled in any other part of the South."⁶⁰ Whereas the Charleston free Negroes formed a truncated social pyramid in which artisans were the highest large class,⁶¹ the New Orleans *gens de couleur* included a number of substantial merchants, cotton factors, caterers, doctors and lawyers, even newspaper editors and poets. Negroes also had much social freedom in cosmopolitan New Orleans. "The whole behavior of the Negro toward the whites," says Joseph G. Tregle, "was singularly free of that deference and circumspection which might have been expected in a slave community."⁶² Though the social weather became

⁵⁸ See "A Frenchman" to the editor, *Times*, July 1, 1877.

⁵⁹ George Rose, *The Great Country* (London, 1868), 191.

⁶⁰ Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Early New Orleans Society: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Southern History*, XVIII (Feb. 1952), 34.

⁶¹ E. Horace Fitchett, "The Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina," *Journal of Negro History*, XXV (Apr. 1940), 142-43; George B. Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900* (Columbia, S. C., 1952), 129-52; Simkins and Woody, *South Carolina*, 26, 91; E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), 32.

⁶² Tregle, "Early New Orleans Society," 33; Donald E. Everett, "Free Persons of Color in New Orleans, 1803-1865," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Tulane University, 1953; Annie

stormier in the last years of slavery, the colored elite regained self-confidence during the Union occupation, serving as officers in the Union army and eventually as officeholders in the state government. Soon after the war they won a crucial struggle for desegregation of streetcars against almost the same arguments and dire predictions later used to obstruct school desegregation.⁶³

The light-skinned New Orleans Negroes, abandoning an early effort to be classed legally as whites, merged their lot with that of the Negro masses and forged an impressive Negro solidarity on racial questions. Since New Orleans was the state capital in this period, they were able to incorporate the darker skinned rural political leaders into their upper-class circle.⁶⁴ There is little evidence in the Reconstruction period that the colored bourgeoisie of New Orleans was as isolated from the Negro masses as E. Franklin Frazier has found the same class in the mid-twentieth century.⁶⁵ Well educated in private schools, in the North, and in France, they maintained a highly articulate newspaper press and an efficient if opportunistic political organization. They held about half of the seats on the city school board and protected the desegregation experiment against occasional desertion and failure of nerve on the part of their white colleagues. Sharing with most professional men the belief that "knowledge is power," these Negro leaders pressed their own children steadily into desegregated schools in search of equal educational opportunities.

New Orleans desegregation, then, achieved its successes in the 1870's through a unique conjunction of circumstances. A political coalition was temporarily created between the rural Negro majority, the urban Negro minority, and northern Republicans in control of federal and state governments. New Orleans was a metropolitan and cosmopolitan, not merely polyglot, center, in which the southern rural mores were challenged by other traditions, values, and interests. The prior development of a free Negro elite in New Orleans provided the leadership and steadfastness which outsiders could not furnish. Such a fortuitous convergence, however, depended too heavily on one *sine qua non*, the temporary sojourn of federal power in the South. Not until the whole region came more closely to resemble New Orleans, not until an urban South and a more strongly based Negro community emerged, could the experiment be renewed auspiciously.

L. W. Stahl, "The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXV (Apr. 1942), 301-96.

⁶³ *Tribune*, June 25, 1865, May 4, 7, 9, 12, 1867.

⁶⁴ Donald E. Everett, "Demands of the New Orleans Free Colored Population for Political Equality, 1862-1865," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1955), 55-64; Germaine A. Memelo [Reed], "The Development of State Laws Concerning the Negro in Louisiana 1864-1900," unpublished master's thesis, Louisiana State University, 1956, 72-82; unanimous petition of Louisiana Negro legislators for passage of the civil rights bill, in *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 815 (Feb. 5, 1872).

⁶⁵ Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie*, 24-26.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

WHAT IS HISTORY? THE GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN LECTURES DELIVERED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, JANUARY-MARCH 1961. By *Edward Hallett Carr*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1962. Pp. 209, iii. \$3.50.)

L'HISTOIRE ET SES MÉTHODES. Published under the direction of *Charles Samaran*. [Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Volume XI.] (Paris: Librairie Gallimard. 1961. Pp. xiii, 1771.)

PROFESSOR Carr has written the best recent book in English on the nature of historical study. Only Marrou's *De la connaissance historique* rivals it in French, and possibly none does in other languages. Lucidly, sharply, brilliantly, Carr views history as "the re-enactment of the past in the historian's mind," "a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past." The historian neither loves the past nor tries to emancipate himself from it, but seeks to "understand it as a key to the present." By "present" Carr really means "future" because a historian looks at the past through his purposes and ideals, his conceptions of the future.

Interpretations of history hence change. The historian is an individual who lives in a society during a particular time. To judge his history, study him, and before this, study "his historical and social environment." The historian with his peculiar prejudices selects the facts he interprets, and his interpretation cannot be final. History, moreover, is "an enormous jig-saw with a lot of missing parts," and the printed documents are too often partial and misleading.

But this does not mean that history must be subjective, that objective history is impossible, or that any history is as good as any other. Historical facts do exist and can be ascertained. A mountain appears to have "different shapes from different angles of vision"; it does not follow that it has "no shape at all or an infinity of shapes." Accurate determination of facts is a duty, though not "a virtue." More important, the historian can interpret them, give them pattern, make them meaningful.

Here Carr makes his major fresh contribution to the toughest questions historians face: what facts out of the myriads to choose, what interpretations to give to those chosen? That his contribution rests on debatable propositions is simply to acknowledge that the philosophical premises of historical study are less than certain, much less agreed upon. Out of his study of history Carr believes in progress. Man has developed "his potential capacities by accumulating the experience

of past generations." "History is progress through the transmission of acquired skills [not biological characteristics] from one generation to another." There are reverses, deviations, breaks in continuity, and different peoples advance or regress at different times and at different rates. Man will not become perfect or earth a paradise. Still the evidence for progress is inescapable—in education, in science and technology, in the growing political consciousness of people, in the widening of the world to Asia and Africa, above all in man's increased exercise of reason to understand and act upon his environment and himself.

The historian can find his standards of significance in terms of these widening horizons, the evolving ends of men. This "sense of direction" enables him to select and to interpret, to make the past meaningful.

Carr is persuasive. As one reads him, one agrees, quickly and easily. Later, in sober aftermath, one asks, what "sense," what "direction," whose "sense of direction"? That of Marx or Wells? of Hitler or Churchill? Gandhi or Toynbee? Mao Tse-tung or Khrushchev? Nehru or Kennedy? or that of the enlightened, liberal, hopeful professor at Trinity College? If, as Carr believes, the definable nineteenth-century goal of progress no longer fashions a key to the past, will the "evolving ends" of Carr's future unlock doors? One can only hope so, for Carr's evolving ends would mean widening horizons. And probably one cannot find a happier standard of significance.

If Carr is right and the study of history is possible, then the historian will need the sharpest tools for his inquiries. These are defined and discussed by some of the best French historians in the second book in the heading above. No better guide to the methods of historical (especially ancient and medieval) study could be given the graduate student. From Marrou's essay on "What Is History," which begins the volume, to his essay on "How to Understand the Craft of the Historian," which ends it, the book learnedly outlines what every historian ought to know about his craft's resources and how these may best be utilized. Though no holy writ is intended and only eleven commandments are delivered, one might expect that the book will succeed the old Langlois and Seignobos *Introduction* as the basic manual with which the aspiring student begins to be a historian.

Washington, D. C.

BCS

THE IMAGE OF THE FUTURE: ENLIGHTENING THE PAST, ORIENTING THE PRESENT, FORECASTING THE FUTURE. Volume I, THE PROMISED LAND, SOURCE OF LIVING CULTURE; Volume II, ICONOCLASM OF THE IMAGES OF THE FUTURE, DEMOLITION OF CULTURE. By *Fred. L. Polak*. [European Aspects: A Collection of Studies Relating to European Integration. Published under the auspices of the Council of Europe. Series A: Culture, Number 1.] (Leyden: A. W. Sythoff; New York: Oceana Publications. 1961. Pp. 456; 376. \$12.50 the set.)

THESE studies, written by a Dutch sociologist and published under the auspices of the Council of Europe, claim to initiate an investigation into the dynamics of culture from a completely new viewpoint. Polak charges that Hegel, Marx, Sorokin, and Toynbee have described the time flow in terms of mechanically fixed patterns which, according to him, do not include the future. "They do not conceive of the future as a part, and itself a factor in the dynamic time-flow." Polak proposes to expand the time concept to include the interaction between completed time and incompleting time. Man's conscious efforts to foreknow the future and his partly unconscious dreams and hopes, he contends, are condensed and crystallized in different sets of expectations and goals. It is, therefore, his ambition to introduce a new category of thought into the social sciences: the image of the future.

One may recall that such thinkers as Lewis Mumford, Karl Löwith, and especially Karl Mannheim have been aware that historical and social thought is colored by utopian hopes; it would seem, nevertheless, that no previous investigation has delved into the different types of future image with a comparable thoroughness. Inevitably Polak has been obliged to rely on the work of other scholars for his analysis of the image of the future among the Greeks and Hebrews. His picture of early Christian faith and of the transformation it underwent when Paul "transformed Jesus into Christ" is discerning, though it may provoke controversy as well as thought. Among the medieval writers, Polak stresses St. Augustine and Joachim of Floris. He moves closer to the core of his problem when he approaches the thinkers of the Renaissance: Pico della Mirandola, Machiavelli, Morus, and Bacon. Occasionally the reliance on secondary interpretations presents its drawbacks and leads to oversimplifications, such as the "diabolic Machiavelli" stretching out his hand to the amoral *Übermensch*.

On the other hand, Polak is certainly right in his assertion that the image of the future was the guiding star of the Enlightenment. Advancing toward the nineteenth century, he directs our attention to the utopia in antiutopian Marxism, a contradiction frequently noted by critics of Marx. The final portion of the first volume of these studies includes the reversal of the utopian trend among contemporary thinkers who embrace pessimistic rather than optimistic expectations, thus renouncing the age-old struggle for a better world. "The trust in human power is broken, the faith in Divine Providence has dimmed." Spengler is, of course, a fine example of this approach, but there are many lesser thinkers who voice the same despair.

The second volume deals entirely with the contemporary scene from the vantage point of the future. Polak argues that in the discussion about the decline of the West and the self-destruction of our civilization there is one essential point which has been overlooked: the life blood of the culture is ebbing away; the pulsing and impassioned images of the future which formerly gave momentum to man and society now lie ravaged and quiescent. He quotes a famous quip of Ernst Troeltsch's in 1918: "The eschatological bureau is closed these days." This change

of attitude toward the future may also be detected in many representatives of Protestant theology, notably Karl Barth and Albert Schweitzer. Polak summarizes the results of his penetrating analysis in an important chapter entitled "The Future of the Christian Belief-system."

It is impossible to do justice to the universal scope of these studies within the limits of a review. They are nothing less than an intellectual history of the twentieth century from the perspective of the image of the future. They reveal an extraordinary degree of learning and a sensitive erudition even upon such subjects as atonal music or abstract painting.

In his concluding chapter, Polak writes, "Western civilization is not lost beyond the possibility of salvation . . . if we can find the right answer to the almost overwhelming challenge which the future offers to our time." But here lies the difficulty. The trends that Polak analyzes so knowledgeably—existentialism, orthodox Christianity, and essence-pessimism—are in themselves symptoms rather than causes of the evils that beset Western civilization. The image of the future cannot be re-created by a simple fiat. Polak shows that he is aware of this inherent contradiction when he admits, "To choose our vision, we first have to have a vision." It is here that the problem comes to rest.

Sweet Briar College

GERHARD MASUR

POLITICAL JUSTICE: THE USE OF LEGAL PROCEDURE FOR POLITICAL ENDS. By *Otto Kirchheimer*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 452. \$8.50.)

PROFESSOR Kirchheimer of Columbia University and the New School offers a weighty contradiction to Aristotle's fond delusion that "the law is reason unaffected by desire." In brave leaps and broad bounds across time and place, the author proceeds topically to examine the many guises that political trials have taken, and assume today. He took on a task of large magnitude and great complexity. The story of political justice involves governments, political parties both legitimate and illicit, judges, lawyers, and defendants. It ranges from medieval proceedings to the Hiss and Eichmann causes and to the 1961 term of the United States Supreme Court. Considering the scope of this work, it is very much to Kirchheimer's credit that he kept control of almost all the many threads from which he wove this narrative.

He lets the reins slip only rarely, and perhaps because the author is more at home in European sources than in matters concerned with the United States. As an example, the footnote on page 137 contains minor errors. A mistake of greater significance occurs on page 407, where Kirchheimer suggests that Lincoln's 1863 pardon program had little immediate effect. The evidence points to a sharply different, if not opposite, conclusion.

Kirchheimer has not merely catalogued *causes célèbres*. Rather he picked and

chose, primarily from Europe's history, for instances of political justice and injustice that illuminated his thesis. Some readers may protest that the author concentrated on Western Europe, but omitted comment on Spain or Latin America. There was quite enough to occupy Kirchheimer in what he undertook. His omissions suggest the need for a companion volume rather than an imbalance in the present one.

I find more to criticize in the topical organization that the author employed. It led to piecemeal reporting and analysis and to repetitive summaries. This organization, together with the "academic" prose style that dominates and strait-jackets the flow of narrative, makes progress through the text glacially slow. Ironically, Kirchheimer in a footnote describes a book as a story "told in stilted narrative." So is this one, except for infrequent and welcome flashes of warm, vivid imagery.

This is, nevertheless, a learned, successful, and significant work. For the first time, a reliable, thorough guide is available to those power mechanisms functioning through the courts that have played such an important role in the development of modern nations. These mechanisms, Kirchheimer depressingly concludes, promise further to expand the use of political trials even in the free lands of the world. More than ever, courts will be involved in politics, if only because cold war pressures are almost everywhere bringing forth enlarged internal security programs.

Whatever the pattern for the near future, Kirchheimer deserves the gratitude of all those who seek guidelines from the past. His book is destined for extensive use by workers in constitutional history and by all students of history and government. I hope that makers of policy as well as scholars read it.

University of California, Los Angeles

HAROLD M. HYMAN

EMPIRE. By *Richard Koebner*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. 393. \$8.50.)

SCHOLARS have been impatiently waiting for this book since Professor Koebner's learned and weighty articles on its themes began to appear in English historical journals some years ago. It exceeds their high expectations, which were based on more than the articles. The extraordinary depth of his learning in wide fields of history from classical to modern times impressed those who met him in London, where he settled in 1953, after retiring from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His interest in the book's theme, stirred when, as a rising German historian, he paid a visit to England in the mid-twenties, was intensified by his experience of empire under international mandate in Palestine. This first volume, long in preparation, carries the story down to the Napoleonic period. The second, now being written from Koebner's drafts and notes, brings it down to the present day. Seventy pages of critical and bibliographical notes add great value to the book.

The theme of the book is the history of the word and idea of empire (imperial,

imperialism), the uses to which these words of power were put, and the changes and perversions of their meaning since the Roman Empire. After luminous chapters on the chameleonlike changes in the meaning and use of the word "empire" in classical and medieval times, the book settles down to its main subject—the British Empire. Koebner shows that uses of the term "British Empire" in the time of Henry VIII, Elizabeth, Cromwell, and the Stuarts carried meanings quite different from the later sense of the term, and in most of the meanings the colonies did not figure at all. Koebner demonstrates that "British Empire" in its modern sense dates from the reign of Queen Anne. It was the union of the Scottish and English crowns that gave the basis for the modern meaning—together with military success on the Continent, the empire of the sea, and world-wide trade. Colonies hardly yet figured in the concept. They were to acquire an "honourable place" in the British Empire in the decades following, but it was still a marginal place. Koebner gives Franklin, James Otis, and Jefferson a large part of the credit for hammering out a clear concept of the territorial British Empire, giving full place to the colonies. Koebner's writing and conversation were marked by the rare quality of a deep insistent need to go beyond the contemporary façades of word and idea and to follow their devious ways deep back into the beginnings. Not only a contribution of great and enduring importance on the theme of empire, and the British Empire in particular, the book also demonstrates a most fruitful method of historical research and analysis which alone should give it lasting importance. It might well serve as a model in courses on the meanings and methods of history and a warning against basing research uncritically on the shifting sands of stereotypes and of words used and abused in many senses over many centuries. Koebner's instinct to follow things to their sources extended to the historical validity of classical passages in speeches. Thus bibliographical research proved that many of Grattan's speeches (and many of Burke's best passages) were literary versions prepared long after the event, and in the case of Grattan, greatly altered. No brief review can convey any real impression of the range, depth, and precision of Koebner's scholarship or of the lucidity of his thought. In printing and editing the book is a model.

Bethesda, Maryland

H. DUNCAN HALL

WAR IN THE MODERN WORLD. By *Theodore Ropp*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1959. Pp. xv, 400. \$10.00.)

ON the assumption that war, which has blighted so many years of man's history by its costs of preparation, prosecution, and reconstruction, might have some significance for a generation that lives continually under the threat of conflict, Professor Ropp has written a short and vivid summary of warfare as waged in modern times. He has cut his way through the details of the development of leggings or the nature of military uniforms to emphasize the effects that techno-

logical developments, improved transport, and better care of the wounded have had on fighting.

The specialists who want to know more about such matters as the Civil War use of the Zouave uniform, the ratio of guns to infantry in the armies of Lee and Meade at Gettysburg, problems of recruiting through the years, or Gerhard Ritter's recent conclusions about the Schlieffen Plan will find detailed bibliographical notes, often with a sampling of what is in store for them. Unfortunately, there are no maps to aid either the specialist or the casual reader.

As one might expect, the mass of material on World War II has proved to be too much. As a result, a number of books are included which are already dated, and the author has wisely refrained from attempting any definite conclusions on many of the controversies of the period. On the other hand, sufficient time has elapsed for him to do a masterful job of reinterpreting the events of World War I. In many ways the bibliography and treatment of the 1914-1918 conflict constitute the best section of the book. Inasmuch as nearly every student of military history claims some special competence on some phase of the American Civil War, it is a brave man who undertakes to summarize it in twenty pages. The high points and most of the standard books are there, but every reader is likely to find that Ropp has left out something he thinks should be included. For those who have been lost in details of attacks on the enemy's works, inept generalship, politics in wartime Washington and Richmond, and the crudities of camp life, there is still something to be learned here about the nature of that war.

For the historian who shuns military history because it seems to be filled with nothing but platoon actions, flank marches, and dreary pages of mutual vilification by half-forgotten battle leaders, Ropp's book is a reminder that the history of warfare includes the raw materials with which the political, economic, diplomatic, or social historian also works. His chapter on the years of uneasy peace, 1871-1914, although omitting William Langer's key volumes, draws on most of the other standard works on imperialism in that period. His book does not stop with Clausewitz, Jomini, and Du Picq, but introduces us to Tolstoy, Bloch, and Isaiah Berlin. It is a volume in which quotations from Douhet and Haushofer rub elbows with David Low's explanation of the origin and development of Colonel Blimp and F. Scott Fitzgerald's description of the battlefield of the Somme.

In his recent provocative essay on "Military History" Walter Millis suggests that Ropp's book, however admirable, offers little to political and military leaders of today which will prepare them for the realities of the future. In a sense, he is saying that his own recent book, *Arms and Men*, is a better volume on military history than his earlier, *The Martial Spirit*. One may agree that no one will want to read the latter book for methods of fighting an atomic war, but it is hard to believe that leaders of today could not learn something from his pages on our 1898 war in Cuba. Ropp preserves timeless lessons for us, along with his evidence that warfare did much to disrupt and change the life of man in the past three hun-

dred years. The historian cannot ignore the ways and means by which nations enforced these changes if he is to give the whole picture of the past.

Arlington, Virginia

FORREST C. POGUE

Ancient and Medieval

DIGGING FOR HISTORY: ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, 1945 TO 1959. By *Edward Bacon*. Introduction by *William Foxwell Albright*. (New York: John Day Company. 1961. Pp. 318. \$10.00.)

OVER sixty years ago Sir Bruce Ingram, editor of the *Illustrated London News*, discovered that for popular appeal archaeology is second only to sex. Archaeological features which appeared in almost every issue of the *News* became so popular that the magazine achieved considerable status as an archaeological publication. Not the least valuable of these many articles were the illustrations which the editor culled from various news sources.

Edward Bacon, for many years the man on the *News* staff responsible for these articles, conceived the idea of gathering the best and the most interesting findings in one book. *Digging for History* is the result.

Bacon chose the period of 1945 through 1959 as the span of the most thrilling discoveries and most significant advances since the science of archaeology began. This premise generally is true; within this period the most significant advances in the chronology of Mesopotamia and Asiatic centers were made. Many historians and archaeologists will regret, however, that Bacon does not include some of the great discoveries prior to 1945. The chronology and general cultural outline of Greece, Minoan Crete, Egypt, and China were well established before that date.

Bacon includes important archaeological discoveries over the world from the United Kingdom to China. There are two sections on archaeological technique, with special emphasis upon new techniques: one section deals with archaeological field techniques and the other with laboratory methods.

Understandably, perhaps, certain archaeological areas are favored in preference to others in which archaeological discoveries were not so spectacular. The United Kingdom and Greece are covered adequately, and all significant archaeological advances in those areas are noted in considerable detail. China and Russia receive less attention, and there is little detail. A serious lack of balance is noted in connection with the single section on the Americas, which is the poorest in the book. Bacon states that the Mayan civilization is the only one worthy of note, but he fails to record all of the really significant advances in that field. He ignores the important and spectacular excavations in the valley of Mexico, in the Andean area, in the American Southwest, and in the mound area of the eastern United

States. These omissions are, of course, a result of the sources from which the author draws his material. In the areas Bacon knows best, his coverage is accurate and informed.

University of New Mexico

FRANK C. HIBBEN

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Numbers 14 and 15. (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin Publisher, Locust Valley, N. Y. 1960; 1961. Pp. xiv, 252; x, 250. \$10.00 each.)

NUMBER Fourteen of the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* is dedicated to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, the founders of Dumbarton Oaks, in commemoration of their fiftieth wedding anniversary. And so, appropriately, the nucleus of this volume consists of six studies delivered at the symposium on the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in 1958 and which are dedicated to various art objects in the collection itself. These papers, though concerned with the so-called minor arts, deal with major trends and phenomena in the field of Byzantine art history and so relate the objects in the collection to the general framework of Byzantine art. At the same time they span the whole chronological period of Byzantine art from its origins down to the Palaeologan period.

Otto Demus, in "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," begins with a general discussion of the problems confronting the art historian who deals with Byzantine portable mosaic icons, a genre of Byzantine art which was comparatively short lived (it seems to have flourished between 1260 and 1320, though one example is known from the twelfth century). The two mosaic icons that the author discusses are the icon of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia and that of St. John Chrysostom, which Demus dates in the case of the former to two or three decades prior to the mosaics and frescoes of Kariye Camii, and in the case of the latter, to the mid-fourteenth century. The works are representative of two stages in the evolution of Palaeologan art. In the earlier work the existence side by side of a medley of the classicizing and the medieval distinguishes it as a work of the earlier experimental stage of this last period of Byzantine art. The icon of St. John Chrysostom is "typical of the completely developed style with its absolute sureness of touch, a style which already shows the first, faint signs of being dry, even tired."

Kurt Weitzmann's paper, "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and Their Impact on Christian Iconography," discusses the use of classical mythological representation by Byzantine artists. There was in the realm of art, as in that of literature, a strong element of continuity with the past. But Christian demands and medieval form altered the mythological tradition in receiving it, and correspondingly the artistic tradition

of ancient mythological representation had a marked influence on Christian iconography.

Other studies on art history include Kantorowicz, "On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection"; Kitzinger, "A Marble Relief of the Theodosian Period"; Der Nersessian, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection"; Grabar, "Une pyxide en ivoire à Dumbarton Oaks"; Underwood, "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul 1957-59." The remaining studies by Ševčenko, Meyendorff, Mango, and Parker are largely philological.

Number Fifteen of the *Papers* includes considerable variety in the subject matter of the articles and notes that it presents. Thus there are included studies in intellectual history, literature, ethnology, liturgics, art, and architecture. In his study, "The Decline of Byzantium Seen through the Eyes of Its Intellectuals," Ševčenko poses the question whether the Byzantine intellectuals of the last two centuries expressed a consciousness, in their works, of the empire's political and cultural decline. He demonstrates that the intellectuals had a notion of both political and cultural decline, especially from the fourteenth century. Awareness of the cultural decline was particularly manifested in the writings of such men as Cydones, Bessarion, and Plethon when they compared both the material and intellectual state of Byzantium with that of the West. The suggestion of Bessarion that the emperor send young Greeks to study in the West and to bring Westerners to Constantinople in order to teach the Greeks Western know-how sounds faintly familiar to students of modern Westernization in the regions from Istanbul to Peking. Bessarion's attempt to coat the bitter pill of Western intellectual and technological superiority makes it sound even more familiar. He remarks that it would be no shame to learn from the West, for the Greeks would in effect be relearning the very things that they had originally imparted to the Romans! Ševčenko concludes that though the intellectuals were aware of the decline, they were not all equally competent in tracing the causes or in suggesting effective remedies.

In a richly documented study, George Soulis makes a contribution to the knowledge of the demographic constitution of the polyglot Byzantine state. Philologists in the past have assumed, as a result of the presence of a large stratum of Greek and Slavic words in their language, that the Gypsies, who first appeared in Western Europe during the fifteenth century, had previously spent a long period in the Byzantine and Balkan lands. Soulis finds the first mention of Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire in eleventh-century Constantinople. He suggests that their appearance in the empire at this time is to be associated with the great displacement of peoples in Armenia and eastern Anatolia caused by the Seljuk invasions. From Byzantine lands proper the Gypsies next moved into the Balkan countries, being first mentioned in the regions of present-day Yugoslavia as early as 1378, and in the regions of modern Rumania in 1385. Thus Soulis' investiga-

tions of the Greek, Slavic, and Latin sources confirm the original contention of the philologists and in addition establish a highly plausible date for the appearance of the Gypsies in Eastern Europe, the eleventh century.

The remaining essays include studies on literature by Moravcsik, Jenkins, and Mango; on art and archaeology by Stillwell, Vermeule, Underwood, Hawkins, Grierson, Mango, and Ševčenko; and on liturgics by Shepherd.

University of California, Los Angeles

SPEROS VRYONIS, JR.

HISTORIA TOU NEOU HELLENISMOU [History of the New Hellenism].

Volume I, ARCHES KAI DIAMORPHOSĒ [Beginnings and Development]. By *Apost. E. Vacalopoulos*. (Salonika: N. Nikolaide. 1961. Pp. 395.)

THIS is the first of a series of volumes designed to cover the history of modern Hellenism. In view of the scattered nature of the sources, many of which are not published, or which, if published, have not yet been thoroughly studied, such an undertaking, particularly for the period of the Turkish domination, is not easy. Nevertheless, since the writing of the great works in the nineteenth century, enough materials have accumulated to justify another attempt at synthesis, and this is what Vacalopoulos is trying to do.

The present volume covers roughly the last three centuries of the Byzantine Empire, for it is in this period that one must seek the beginnings of modern Hellenism. The object of the volume is to bring forth the various factors that contributed to the formation of modern Hellenism, and as a consequence, what we are given is not a narrative account of the history of the period covered but an analysis of the developments and conditions that gave rise to these factors. The book opens with a discussion of the problem of the origin of the modern Greek people. It admits the influence of such foreign elements as the Slavs, Albanians, Vlachs, Franks, and Turks who from time to time settled in Greece, but stresses the continuity of the Greek people from ancient times. In the events of the thirteenth century the author finds the beginning of modern Hellenism, emphasizes the fact that both the empire of Nicaea and the despotat of Epirus considered themselves Greek states, and points to the increasing use, beginning with the thirteenth century, of the term Hellene as a national designation. He traces the expansion of the Turks, describes the various factors that made them strong, and analyzes the material and spiritual weaknesses of the Greek world and the failure to reform itself despite some interesting suggestions and some efforts. His account of the fall of Constantinople and its effect upon the Greeks is moving. He ends his book with a chapter relating to Greek intellectuals abroad, whose lot was by no means easy, and the role that they played in the revival of the Greek letters in Western Europe.

In a book such as this, there are numerous points on which one may disagree with the author. I found a number of such points, for instance, the author's

interpretation of the meaning of Hellas as used by Evagrius, his view concerning the date of the beginning of the settlement of Slavs in Greece, and his statement that Manuel II while Emperor of Thessalonica accepted union with Rome. But what impressed me were not these points of difference, but the comprehensive nature of the book, the author's mastery of his materials, the fresh approach to many of the problems, his general objectivity, and the clarity of his expressions. Vacalopoulos' book is not hackneyed; it is an original contribution whose influence will be felt for many years.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

LIFE OF PETRARCH. By *Ernest Hatch Wilkins*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 275. \$6.50.)

WE have long needed a comprehensive life of Petrarch in English, one that would combine the fruits of modern Petrarch scholarship with a careful analysis of the available biographical information. Dr. Wilkins' book fills part of this need. Out of his vast knowledge of the sources he has assembled in chronicle form every verifiable fact known about the great humanist's life from birth to death. At no point does he exceed the limits of deduction permitted by the sources themselves; at every turn he is careful, precise, and, what is perhaps more impressive in a scholar of his authority, humble before the magnitude of his subject. Only rarely does he intrude himself into the narrative, preferring merely to collate the known facts under the aspect of chronicle and allow them to speak for themselves.

It is questionable whether the chronicle form is best suited to portray the life of Petrarch, who is more important for his spiritual endowments than his mundane activities. It does allow the biographer to build out of a mass of small details a series of impressions that gradually form a pattern and crystallize in what seems to be a living, even familiar human personality. On the other hand, it frequently leads the chronicler into low irony or comedy through the necessity that it imposes of juxtaposing events of the highest seriousness with those of scant importance solely on the basis of their contemporaneity. Thus, although the author's account of Petrarch's life does achieve the desired effect of familiarity in the long run, on a number of occasions his narrative slips into an unforeseen comic turn. For example, the story of the rise and fall of Cola di Rienzo, which occurs during Petrarch's middle years, is frequently, and sometimes jarringly, intertwined with an account of changes in Petrarch's herb garden or his disputes with his servants.

Wilkins knows his subject intimately and loves him dearly, and his tact never allows the general picture to get out of focus. He constructs a world of the fourteenth century with Petrarch as its center, and he is not afraid to show us a Petrarch who is as petty as he is grand, a Petrarch to whom sometimes the com-

position of his garden was as important as stale news of Cola di Rienzo. Petrarch appears, then, as a sensitive and harassed creative intelligence, constant in his friendships and loyal to his calling, distracted by a thousand petty details of everyday life, beset by doubts and hounded by fears, constantly searching for some haven where he might do his work or sing his song in a violent world. Unfortunately, the author does not probe some of the broader questions that should be raised in any life of Petrarch, except indirectly, but his life does expose these questions for all to see.

University of Rochester

HAYDEN V. WHITE

Modern Europe

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume V, THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE, 1648–88. Edited by *F. L. Carsten*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. xxiv, 630. \$8.50.)

THIS volume is the product of a stellar cast, including some of the most distinguished names of European historical scholarship. Fourteen of the contributors are English, or teach in English universities; of the remaining eleven, two are from the United States, three from Germany, and one each from France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Sweden, and Turkey. A carping critic might object that the average age of these men is rather high and that most of their ideas are available elsewhere in more extensive studies. Because Sir George Clark undoubtedly had a large part in the selection of the contributors, it should not be surprising that he called upon established authorities to write the chapters in this volume. Furthermore, it can be argued that it is useful to have these summaries of larger works handily assembled in one book.

Approximately the first third of the volume treats the civilization of Europe as a unit rather than as aspects of the history of the several subcultures on the Continent. As might be expected, these essays are uneven in quality. The first, by the editor, contains a regrettably large number of errors of fact that should have been caught by the many people who must have read it in manuscript; it also is quite unimaginative as an introduction to the "Age of Louis XIV." Coleman's discussion of economic problems and policies turns out to be an encyclopedic, textbookish account that could have been written thirty years ago as well as today. This observation, unfortunately, could also be made about several of the other essays. Hall's chapter is good, but it will disappoint the readers of his justly famous *Scientific Revolution, 1500–1800*, for he seems to be cramped by space limitations. The chapter on philosophy and particularly Skalweit's chapter on political theory are both very good; the latter will be prized for its interesting discussion of Central European thought, a subject usually somewhat neglected. The chapters on art and architecture and on church and state are both encyclopedic; the latter leaves

more questions unresolved than it answers. There are two chapters on politics that consider Europe as a cultural unit. Clark's essay on the social foundations of states reflects his wisdom and knowledge; it is regrettable that space limitations prevented any adequate discussion of Europe beyond the Rhine. Gaston Zeller's essay on high politics is an able summary of his book in the Renouvin series.

The remaining two-thirds of the volume deals with the states of Europe, or their colonial areas, as separate problems. Several of these essays are very good—Kussmann's on the Dutch Republic, Carsten's on the Empire after the Thirty Years' War, Rich's on Europe and North America, and others—but most of them are a bit pedantic and pedestrian in tone and inspiration. It could well be useful to students to have a factual overview of the multitudinous problems of European history, but the critical reviewer must ask himself whether the historian who, presumably, has examined more of the evidence than he can ever present, should content himself with cataloguing a series of facts, thereby leaving to his reader the problem of interpretation. This method of presenting history recalls Guedalla's remarks about the historians who write as if they were uninterested in their subjects. Unfortunately too many of these essays have the air of being prepared for an encyclopedia rather than for a history of the Age of Louis XIV.

In any volume written by a number of contributors differences of opinion inevitably arise over the importance of as well as the inferences to be drawn from historical facts; indeed, there are even different versions of these "historical facts." This is perhaps particularly true of an era in which controversial characters like Louis XIV, Leopold I, William III, and Peter I stalk the stage and challenge the historian's imagination. I will content myself with the melancholy observation that the problems of European history are so complex and so difficult that it is perhaps surprising that there is so much agreement among men who approach them from so many different angles. In any case, little would be gained by calling attention to these differences.

Whatever may be the limitations of this volume, teachers of modern European history will welcome it as a reading assignment for students whose linguistic skills are limited to English. It is a distinct improvement on the earlier *Cambridge Modern History*, and it contains much information not otherwise easily available to American college students.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF

FRANKREICH UND OSTMITTELEUROPA IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT:
BEITRÄGE ZUR POLITIK UND GEISTESGESCHICHTE. By *Ernst*
Birke. [Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Number 6.]
(Köln-Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1960. Pp. xv, 527. DM 42.)

INCREASINGLY visiting American scholars enjoy the academic privileges of the new Herder Institut in Marburg. Its name indicates the primary concern of that

research group with German-Slavic relations. Significant sources of its financial and academic support indicate ties with contemporary West German political and intellectual revisionism, particularly in regard to Poland and Czechoslovakia. Dr. Birke's book is one of a continuing series dealing with the eastern half of Middle Europe, from which the Germans and their influence were recently expelled. Other scholars may well disagree with the concern or conclusions of the Herder research group, but such an institute with clearly expressed cultural-historical convictions is hardly an uncommon phenomenon on the present European scene.

This is a study of emerging French publicity and attitudes dealing with the Slavic peoples of the Russian and Habsburg monarchies between 1815 and the 1890's. Against a broad background of French foreign policy and international political conceptions in that era, the author notes the major personalities (Slav, *émigré*-Slav, and French) who influenced a tiny but growing group of French enthusiasts and experts on Central Europe. A welter of conflicting notions and interpretations appeared in the heady atmosphere of discovering the terra incognita that was Slavdom. Initially much was chaos and contrast, but Birke finds the pattern progressively simplified and ordered as the German question intruded ever more prominently upon other continental considerations from 1840 to the creation of the Franco-Russian alliance. Through the confusions of 1848-1849, the Crimean War, adjustments in Imperial Russia and Austria, and the Bismarckian wars, the author charts an emerging Franco-Slavic consolidation of sentiment and cultural-political interests clustering around a nucleus of intensifying common anti-German antagonism. As the decades passed, the quality of French presentation of issues improved from the superficial observers of the 1830's to scholars like Ernest Denis. At the threshold of the twentieth century, the scholars joined with a new generation of persuasive and sometimes terribly misinformed journalists to awaken the main body of French public opinion and political action toward the abortive solutions that briefly triumphed for France between 1918 and 1938. Birke will analyze this culmination in a second volume currently in preparation.

One may object that the author writes too much from the viewpoint of a process completed or with an overawareness of national self-concern. However that may be, his scholarship is wide ranging and competent. Most important, he has focused upon a significant topic of intercultural rivalry and illustrates how many diverse cultural, social, and personal factors interact with political situations to produce dominant national attitudes in modern Europe.

Pomona College

HENRY CORD MEYER

LA GUERRA DEL 1859: NEI RAPPORTI TRA LA FRANCIA E L'EUROPA. Third Series, 1848-1860. Volumes I-IV. Edited by *Armando Saitta*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze

Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814-1860. Part 3, Rapporti tra Stati Europei. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1961. Pp. xxix, 302; 312-808; 820-1207; 1220-1632. L. 3,500 each.)

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA LA GRAN BRETAGNA E IL REGNO DI SARDEGNA. Third Series, 1848-1860. Volume I (4 GENNAIO 1848-31 DICEMBRE 1848); Volume II (1 GENNAIO 1849-31 DICEMBRE 1849). Edited by *Federico Curato*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti Esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1961. Pp. xvii, 529; 359. L. 3,500 each.)

STILL the various series and volumes pour forth in that rich and scholarly collection of the "Fonti per la Storia d'Italia." The two series here reviewed seem to be of wider significance than those dealing with the purely Franco-Tuscan relations of some recent volumes. On this occasion I need not describe and praise again the fine editorial standards and practices of the "Fonti" (see *AHR*, LXV [Jan., July 1960], 425, 973; LXVI [Jan. 1961], 455). Professor Saitta's five-volume collection of the French correspondence on *La Guerra del 1859* does not include French correspondence with Sardinia or other Italian states (reserved for other series), but, what is of broader scope and value, it comprises the French diplomatic correspondence with the major and minor powers of Europe during the first seven months of 1859, preceding and during the Austro-Sardinian War. In the introduction the editor makes an initial contribution by a discussion of the French diplomatic representatives at the various courts of Europe and of the historical literature of the period. The documents themselves are grouped by countries and then arranged chronologically within the country's group, but the table summary at the beginning of the first volume lists all documents in a purely chronological order regardless of country of origin. For a short period of seven months the selection is quite generous: 723 documents are dispatches to France from their agents in non-Italian European countries; the remaining 200 documents are France's instructions to its agents. Many of the dispatches report on the reaction of public opinion to the war and include the reproduction of newspaper clippings. Hence these volumes are a good source for the study of European opinion as well as of diplomacy. The first twenty-six pages present six contemporary French schemes for Italian confederation, only one of which has been published before. The correspondence with the various states (with the number of documents selected indicated in parentheses) appear as follows: in Volume I, Austria (94), Belgium (39), Denmark (29); in Volume II, Frankfurt Diet (14), Bavaria (31), Hanover (41), Saxony (86); in Volume III, Württemberg (47), Hesse-Darmstadt (56), Baden (42), Hamburg (25), Great Britain (111), Netherlands (23), Portu-

gal (17); in Volume IV, Prussia (118), Russia (89), Spain (60), Switzerland (26), and Turkey (13). In a fifth volume, which is soon to appear, there will be a few documents from Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, Weimar, and Greece, and some consular reports and reports on the mission of Roncière Le Noury to Russia. The only omission one might note is the lack of private letters, perhaps caused to some extent by the inaccessibility or the uncertain location of many French family collections.

Because Prussia was a pivotal power during the war and elicited the most French correspondence, a look at this section will give a good idea of the wealth of the contents. Here are found such important reports as those dealing with Bismarck's views on the whole crisis, France's approval of the Russian congress proposal, France's policy on the disarmament proposals, Prussia's condemnation of Austria's ultimatum, and Prussia's reasons for mobilization. For those studying the careers of individual diplomats, material will be found for such men as Walewski, Persigny, Péligier (Malakoff), Moustier, and Montebello.

While Dr. Curato's *Gran Bretagna e Sardegna* deals only with the relations between two countries, it is of singular interest because of the importance of the roles of Great Britain and Sardinia in the Italian revolutions of 1848 and 1849. The editor has selected six hundred British documents on the period, mainly Abercromby's and Palmerston's official and private correspondence. Many reports of British consuls in Sardinian cities are also included. What is of particular value is that most of these documents have not previously been published, and 16 per cent of them are from private family papers, mainly the Palmerston papers. The only disappointing feature in these volumes is the scarcity of private letters between Abercromby and Lord John Russell. Since Russell was Prime Minister and Abercromby's brother-in-law and since Russell's collection of private letters in the Public Record Office is very voluminous, it is surprising that only five Abercromby letters to Russell are reproduced. Perhaps no other important ones exist, and so Curato cannot be blamed. He regrets the disappearance of Abercromby's private papers, which might well have contained many more letters from Russell.

The richness of this collection is revealed by the subjects in the British dispatches and letters, such as Piedmontese reforms and the *Statuto*, the first and second Austro-Sardinian Wars, French policy in these crises, Anglo-French joint mediation, peace negotiations, Piedmontese domestic crises, the D'Azeglio ministry, and the quarrel with the principality of Monaco. Those interested in a study of individual diplomats will be glad to find material on such men as Charles Albert, Victor Emmanuel II, Francis Joseph, Pius IX, Leopold II of Tuscany, the Prince of Monaco, Palmerston, Abercromby, Massimo d'Azeglio, Gioberti, Mazzini, Boncompagni, Dabormida, De Launay, La Marmora, and Radetzky.

Italian historians are not only working indefatigably on the generous publication of their own documents, but now they are putting us ever more in their

debt by publishing French and British documents on the *risorgimento* period, documents heretofore unavailable in printed form.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

ÖSTERREICH ZWISCHEN RUSSLAND UND SERBIEN: ZUR SÜDSLA-
WISCHEN FRAGE UND DER ENTSTEHUNG DES ERSTEN WELT-
KRIEGES. By *Hans Uebersberger*. (Köln-Graz: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus
Nachf. 1958. Pp. vii, 332. 144 Sch.)

THERE has been a revival of interest in the study of the causes of World War I in recent years. This latest book by Hans Uebersberger, an Austrian historian and the coeditor of the well-known collection of Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry documents, first treats European diplomatic history from the annexation crisis of 1908 to the assassination of 1914, and then presents a discussion of the complicated but familiar story about the organization of the Sarajevo assassination and the accessories to it. Thus we read once again how the group "Union or Death" (Black Hand) came into existence and what part it played. The author describes the conflict between the Black Hand and the Serbian government, the contacts between the Black Hand and the Yugoslav youth in the monarchy, the responsibilities of Serbia and Russia for the 1914 crime, the trial and execution of Apis, and the intervention of Russia on behalf of the condemned. But, again, nothing particularly new is added to what has already been written on these topics. The book, moreover, is not objective. Throughout the pages, relying overwhelmingly on Austro-Hungarian sources, Serbia and Russia stand revealed in a bad light, while the Dual Monarchy emerges as a paragon of perfection. For some reason the author ignores all the standard works on the causes of World War I. Even so recent a book as Albertini's three-volume *The Origins of the War of 1914* is ignored. Apart from Nešković's book, no other postwar Yugoslav source is cited. He uses neither the controversial study by Živanović nor the works of Vojislav Bogićević.

During the war the Germans found in the Serbian archives a "rough copy" (*Konzept*) of a letter dated March 28, 1917, which Apis wrote to the military court in which he admitted that he had organized the Sarajevo assassination. The existence of the letter was long known, but not its text. Uebersberger recently published the letter for the first time and used it to implicate the Russians in the 1914 crime. Later, during the retrial of Apis and his friends by the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of Serbia in 1953, a copy of the finished letter was submitted as evidence and published by Nešković. The two texts differ somewhat, but they were written by the same person and contain the same information. Uebersberger apparently made a significant mistake in translation. According to his translation, Apis admitted that he had "communicated" to Military Attaché Artamanov his "plans regarding the assassination," while the original Serbian

text states that he (Apis) spoke with Artamanov "without having communicated to him" his plans regarding the assassination. This clearly weakens Uebersberger's attempt to implicate Russia. In his book, he seems to correct the translation by inserting the crucial word "without" but he adds a question mark.

As can be seen, the final word on the assassination of 1914 and the responsibility for the war has not been written. While Uebersberger is plowing the old familiar ground in the hope of finding new evidence in defense of Austria-Hungary, the Yugoslav historians, handicapped by Marxian doctrines and national loyalty, are polemicizing on the "ideological essence" of the "Union or Death" organization. Despite his painstaking work in the Austrian archives and the use of the Serbian Foreign Ministry documents, Uebersberger adds little that is new on the subject of *Kriegsschuldfrage*.

Stanford University

WAYNE S. VUCINICH

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE EUROPEAN JEWS. By *Raul Hilberg*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1961. Pp. x, 788. \$17.50.)

THIS is an impressive and depressing work. Professor Hilberg traces the steps taken by the German state, party, economic, and military bureaucracies to destroy Europe's Jews. The process begins with the definition of those to be classified as Jews, continues through the expropriation of their property to their concentration, and then to their eventual murder on the spot or in killing centers.

The author's method is simple in form. He reviews each step, following a chronological and geographical sequence across Europe and explicating the organizations and individuals involved on the basis primarily of exhaustive research in the German documents. This approach is productive both of the book's great merits and its defects. With great care and ingenuity Hilberg has unraveled agencies and jurisdictions, organizational responsibilities, and financial transactions that often baffle the scholar. The approach also reveals—and this is one of the main themes of the book—the involvement of vast numbers in the mechanics of mass murder. A modern society with its complex bureaucracy is potentially a menace to any moral order. Crime loses its criminality through institutionalization: those who give orders see no blood; those who assist at the deed are mere technicians; those who kill only obey orders. By placing this whole story before the reader Hilberg performs an important service not only by pointing to the general danger, but also by restoring balance to our perspective on the past. He shows that the individuals involved in the murder process were not a selected crew of sadists, but a sample of the population; that if the SS did the shooting in Russia, the army did it in Serbia; that if the party bureaucracy pushed hard, the Foreign Ministry officials were doing their best to compete.

Nothing would be gained by listing minor errors. More important are those shortcomings produced by the author's methodology. First, Hilberg is sometimes

carried away by his passion for detail into tedious efforts at precision that only tire the reader and mar the effectiveness of the account. Second, in trying to do practically all the research himself on the basis of documents, the author has sometimes redone episodes, like the proposed Grynzpan trial, that have already been analyzed more thoroughly by others. Furthermore, rigid adherence to the wording rather than the meaning of documents has in places led to distortion. Hilberg fails to see that sometimes real efforts were being made to help the victims by language attuned to the times. Thus he is unfair to General Blaskowitz and fails to recognize that the survival of the *Mischlinge* was due not so much to German inability to cope with this problem as it was to efforts to protect them. Finally, the recital of detail leads easily to a presumption of prior planning that is not always warranted. Although at points the author himself refers to the absence of planning, his conclusion that "When in the early days of 1933 the first civil servant wrote the first definition of a 'non-Aryan' into a civil service ordinance, the fate of European Jewry was sealed" is untenable and not proved by the text.

These deficiencies do not materially reduce Hilberg's contribution. Not only the process of destruction but its manifold implications and repercussions are described and analyzed with diligence and perception. The satellites of the Axis, both the willing and the unwilling, the rescue organizations and the Allied powers, the obedient victims and the murderers brought to trial, the survivors and the restitution officials all move across the somber pages of this book. Here the destruction process is seen through the eyes of its practitioners on a scale no other scholar has yet attempted. A German translation is desirable.

University of Michigan

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

POETRY AND POLITICS UNDER THE STUARTS. By *C. V. Wedgwood*.
[The Clark Lectures, 1958.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960.
Pp. vii, 219. \$4.75.)

In her 1958 Clark Lectures, Miss Wedgwood has attempted two things: to show how the courtly and popular poems of the Stuart period illuminate the events and personalities that gave them birth, and to trace the changes that came about in occasional verse as the age proceeded. Several times she apologizes for "being more of a historian than a literary critic." She reads poetry by snippets and quotes by snippets, destroying architectonic on the ground that most of the verse is not much good anyway. An "amateur" in literature must argue on the pleasing lines, on "taste," or on the "insight" of a poem. Thus Miss Wedgwood misses the point of Marvell's great ode on Cromwell, and she is unfair to Dryden's "Hind and the Panther."

But her thesis that part of the tragedy of the Stuarts is that they were more willing to listen to the courtly poetry of compliment than to the "will of the

people" as expressed in ballads (many of them coarse) is so well sustained and so richly illustrated that one gladly foregoes the literary analysis. Miss Wedgwood's history, as her readers have gratefully acknowledged now for many years, is not just political history. It is changes in art, emotion, economic well-being, clashing personalities, shifts in party strength, transportation, and costume. To illustrate one kind of change by a single set of accompanying changes is a legitimate experiment for a historian to make before a lecture audience.

In flashes of insight, Miss Wedgwood compares a gorgeous description by Fanshawe of "the halcyon days" under Charles I with Rubens' "The Blessings of Peace," and, Titian's Prado portrait of the family of Charles V with Dryden's "excessive" homage in his youth. But it is a dubious conclusion that "insincerity" in painting is easier to take than in poetry. "Sincerity" is actually a nonartistic principle. Granted that all occasional poetry must be rooted in the occasion and be true to that, the greatest occasional poetry—in Dryden's "Absolom and Achitophel," Milton's sonnet on the slaughtered saints in Italy in 1655, and Pope's "Rape of the Lock"—rises to a kind of truth above even history. That is why a book of this kind has to omit the great poems and treat us to poets like Pastel, Jordan, and others we never heard of, though all are very enjoyable.

Her style is, as we would expect, wise, witty, and urbane, with only a rare *gaucherie*—"Poetry, with its easily memorable rhymes, is more suited than prose for conveying concealed hints of this kind to the receptive mind."

Students of literature can learn much from this book, and my guess is that the professional historian could too.

University of Michigan

FRANK L. HUNTLEY

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ENGLISH NEWSPAPER, 1620-1660. By *Joseph Frank*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 384. \$7.75.)

JOSEPH Frank has written a lucid, scholarly, urbane, and delightful narrative history of English newspapers from 1620 to 1660. This is the story of editors, editing, licensing, censorship, the reporting of foreign and domestic news, financing, advertising, and the political biases of the approximately eight thousand separate issues of newspapers published in England before 1660. Frank himself examined about 7,500 of these—a remarkable feat since he did not travel to England—and has solved the difficult bibliographical puzzles in so far as these are soluble. The University of Rochester, the Huntington Library, and the Guggenheim Foundation are all to be congratulated for their wisdom in supporting Frank's study, and the Harvard Press has made a handsome book of it.

The work will be consulted by every historian interested in seventeenth-century English affairs. Readers will find here a mass of interesting incidental information: an account of "a jealous wife in Kent who cut out her rival's vulva and served it to her unfaithful husband," new information about Milton, the

theater, literary taste, witches, early Zionists, the popularity of Hobbesian ideas, and astrology—all this in addition to the main theme, the history of English journalism. Many subjects of interest are discussed in this splendid study: the influence of war on newspaper publishing—the newspaper began as a by-product of the Thirty Years' War and reached maturity during the English Civil Wars; circulation—Frank estimates that in the 1640's one-half of the literate males of London read a weekly newspaper regularly; the effects of censorship; attempts to present the news objectively as a public service; partisan papers printing lies, diatribes, invectives, character assassinations, and vehement editorials; the use of trial balloons, planted rumors, and innocuous filler; the development of the human interest story with an emphasis on crime, sex, and tragedy; the emergence of parody, caricature, and smut; and the rise of advertisements—ranging from legitimate announcements of new books to fake cures for breast cancer.

Frank draws two general conclusions. "The first is the importance of London. The early weeklies give the overwhelming impression that the role of the metropolis was closer to that of Paris in eighteenth-century France than most historians have assumed." "The second . . . is the extent to which the 'Puritan Revolution' was secular rather than religious. . . . The price of beer was of more concern than the price of salvation, a fact of which editors were aware."

A few small cavils must serve when the reviewer can find no serious errors. Frank uses "author" as a verb—newspaperese; he cites the *Dictionary of National Biography* in his bibliography—a Ph.D. dissertation habit; not believing in witches himself, he allows himself the unhistorical pleasure of censuring seventeenth-century editors who did. One final suggestion: an index to all the eight thousand issues of newspapers published before 1660 would be a very useful tool for the historian and would not be a much greater undertaking than the annual index for the *New York Times*.

Rutgers University

RICHARD SCHLATTER

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY. Volume II, THE VOYAGE OF THE *RESOLUTION* AND *ADVENTURE*, 1772–1775. Edited by J. C. *Beaglehole*, with the assistance of J. A. *Williamson et al.* [Hakluyt Society, Extra Series Number 35.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1961. Pp. clxx, 1021. \$19.50.)

A GRATEFUL posterity has erected a variety of memorials to Captain Cook. His tiny cottage, in which the pigsty is the largest room, has long since been removed from his native Yorkshire village to be re-erected as a public monument in Melbourne. Even Point Venus, an out-of-the-way beach in Tahiti, can boast a memorial stone to his landfall there in 1769. But the *monumentum aere perennius*, whose scope and craftsmanship are worthy of its subject, may well be

Beaglehole's edition of Cook's journals of his three great voyages in the Pacific. The first volume, the voyage of the *Endeavour*, 1768–1771, appeared in 1955 (*AHR*, LXI [July 1956], 933). The second, that of the *Resolution* and *Adventure*, 1772–1775, we have now. The third is to deal with the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, 1776–1780; the fourth will consist of essays and lists pertaining to Cook's life and work.

The introduction to the second volume is some hundred pages shorter than that to the first. The text, however, is much longer; of its approximately one thousand pages, two-thirds are taken up by Cook's journal, and the rest by letters, reports, official minutes, a calendar of documents, and extracts from the logs and journals of officers who sailed with Cook. Beaglehole modestly underplays the exhaustive editorial annotation and introductory materials he has provided and declares: "this second journal could be annotated for ever . . . one stops because one must stop somewhere. The voyage was not very much longer than the first, but for variety of experience it transcends most voyages ever made. . . ." Three times Cook sailed around and through the antarctic ice edge to disprove two millennia of belief in the existence of a southern continent. Twice in between, he swept up into the tropics to discover or rediscover Pacific islands, as he had done on his first voyage. But sheer geographical discovery is not the main concern of this volume, nor was it Cook's. The voyage had a number of scientific objectives, whose execution was furthered by the admiralty. However foolish its First Lord, the Earl of Sandwich, may have been in other matters, we learn that he redeemed himself by giving his utmost support to Cook. Much cartographic and hydrographic information was collected. The problem of measurement of longitude, for whose solution a reward of twenty thousand pounds had long been offered by the government, was finally solved, when Cook proved the reliability of Harrison's chronometer, a duplicate of which he had taken along. The efficacy of anti-scorbutics, inspissated malt juice and fermented cabbage, was established. Although thirty years earlier, a circumnavigator like Anson would lose six hundred of his nine hundred men, the final entry in Cook's journal reads: "Having been absent from England Three Years and Eighteen Days, in which time I lost but four men and only one of them by sickness"—none from scurvy. If we add the detailed anthropological descriptions from Cook's pen, the data collected by the naturalists aboard, and finally the paintings and drawings by various shipboard artists (many of which are reproduced here in collotype), the importance of the journal of this voyage and the skill of an editor who has illuminated almost every aspect of it speak for themselves.

From this edition, which supersedes all previous editions, Cook the man now emerges as impressively as Cook the explorer. Amidst the mass of detailed annotation and explanatory material, Beaglehole never loses the human touch. In his list of the ship's company, he places against the names selected comments made by fellow voyagers. The comment on Cook himself comes from the log kept by

John Elliott, a fourteen-year-old midshipman. It reads: "An Exelent Seaman and Officer—Brave, Humane." The next installment, the tragic third voyage, which turned this judgment into an epitaph, will be eagerly awaited.

Harvard University

GEORGE H. NADEL

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE: A BIOGRAPHY. Volume I, 1818–1856. By *Waldo Hilary Dunn*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 261. \$5.60.)

THE biography of historians is an interesting branch of historiography, and in this volume Dr. Dunn has made a significant contribution to our understanding of a major figure. The author has acquired an extensive collection of Froude's unpublished writings and treated Froude's first thirty-eight years after the fashion of "life-and-letters." Two-thirds of the work consists of quotations from the subject's autobiographical fragment, autobiographical novel, journals, jottings, and correspondence. These materials convince Dunn, as Froude's deportment convinced other admirers, that he was complex and enigmatic. They persuade me rather that he was a plain and straightforward individual whose honest faults and earnest virtues caused him to suffer greatly in the spiritual environment of Victorian Britain. He endured a sickly and miserable childhood, the barbarities of Westminster School, Tractarian influence at Oxford, the absurd humiliation of having one of his books publicly burned at Exeter College where he was a fellow, and subsequent tortures imposed by his intellectual integrity. From these trials he emerged a confident and magnanimous man, fired by an ambition to take "a permanent place among our classic historians." The reaction of his powerful character to the experiences of his early life formed his philosophy of history. He could never accept a doctrinaire position. He respected Hume and Carlyle; like Voltaire and Gibbon, Froude once called history "a catalogue of men's follies or of their crimes." But he let no man or creed control his judgment. Faith, he believed, rested upon "healthy predilections and prejudices," but a historian's prepossessions must be subordinated to the evidence of ascertainable facts. In writing the saints' lives he could not follow Newman's advice to arrange the materials, true and false, "in the form best calculated to work conviction" in miracles. His early work affords some evidence of "carelessness" but none of falsehood or "constitutional inaccuracy." (Readers may be disappointed to learn that Dunn has shattered the cherished legends attached to Froude's description of Adelaide and his life of St. Neot.) In defiance of all canons and all authorities, Froude unhesitatingly proclaimed the convictions he acquired from thought, observation, and prodigious research. His rule of conduct was "to take my own way in life, doing . . . , in all important matters, just what I should think good, at whatever risk of consequences, and taking no other person's opinion when it crossed with my own." He could be captious, and he entered upon controversial subjects well

knowing that he would arouse antagonism. "We Froudes," he remarked, "have a way of our own of laying hold of the stick by the burnt end." But he was not quarrelsome. He rarely replied to his critics because, he confessed, it was not in his nature to be angry with anybody. Dunn's pages reveal that Froude's hard shell contained an amiable heart as well as a brilliant mind.

Yale University

ARCHIBALD S. FOORD

THE AGE OF CHURCHILL. Volume I, HERITAGE AND ADVENTURE, 1874-1911. By *Peter de Mendelssohn*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1961. Pp. xix, 661, xiii. \$8.95.)

THIS is the first of a projected three-volume study of the life and times of Winston Churchill. Since it is offered as a serious study, "the result of some twenty-five years of active political journalism and an intensive study of modern history," there is a compelling reason for suggesting changes that the author would do well to consider before he publishes his second volume.

It should be said at the outset that the writing of a biography of Churchill poses certain special problems. Having been his own biographer for almost forty years, and having written brilliantly, if not always dispassionately, on many of the most exciting periods of his life, Churchill has set a standard of craftsmanship that will cause even the most intrepid of his biographers to hesitate. While Churchill's own works must necessarily form the basis of every new study, the biographer who relies too heavily on them and borrows extensively from their pages risks missing an opportunity. Mr. de Mendelssohn's transcription of long passages from Churchill's *My Early Life* shows a serious lack of judgment; the reader unacquainted with the original may find the capsuled account satisfactory; anyone who knows both will feel cheated. This is not to suggest that this material ought not to have been used; it is only to argue that it ought to have been placed in a frame that showed the mind and art of the biographer. One looks in vain through these pages for new data (or new insights) on the institutions with which Churchill was associated. Why did his biographer not study the Harrow and Sandhurst of Churchill's youth or seek to interpret the experience of an army officer in India at the close of Victoria's reign? This was an opportunity to go beyond Churchill's own testimony, to create a backdrop which would not serve simply as decoration, but which would be an integral part of the picture. A biography on this scale cannot simply repeat what is already known.

Winston Churchill's private papers are not presently available. While this is a serious inconvenience for his biographer, one is surprised to note that de Mendelssohn has compounded his difficulty by choosing not to consult other manuscript collections that might have been made available to him. There is no explanation offered for this self-imposed restriction. It compels the author to rely on secondary works, many of them generally known, all of them familiar

to the professional historian. One is prepared to find de Mendelssohn using these works for his factual data, but somewhat astonished to find their interpretations being borrowed. The views of Robert Blake or D. C. Somervell, properly foot-noted, become part of the biographer's evidence. When de Mendelssohn sets out to describe the personalities of those who crossed Churchill's path, he shows the same eclectic habit. He collates and transcribes what others have said, imagining that the character of Lloyd George, Herbert Asquith, or Arthur Balfour can be rendered by such random evidence, if only it exists in sufficient quantity. There is, in this method, an almost total abdication by the biographer of his critical responsibility. Does Beatrice Webb's unflattering and unjust characterization of Asquith bear repeating? Is it a meaningful comment on Britain's Prime Minister or simply important for what it reveals about Mrs. Webb? This second possibility, de Mendelssohn never thinks to consider. For him, a fact, *any* fact, is worth including.

Churchill has written relatively little about his life in the years 1902-1911. Given the tempestuous character of the times, particularly of the later years, there is a unique opportunity here for the man who wishes to render the quality of the age. In his description of this period, de Mendelssohn shows an unaccustomed restraint. Without Churchill's help he seems scarcely able to convey the mood of that day. The prose style is "excited," but the narrative is dull; the liberal use of superlatives does not serve to produce the dramatic effect that is intended. De Mendelssohn's portrayal of Churchill suggests a medieval painting where the child's face is that of an adult. The Prime Minister's features peer through when one is in fact looking for the youthful countenance of the president of the Board of Trade. If Churchill's destiny was writ in the stars, few of his contemporaries knew how to read the skies. De Mendelssohn would do well in the succeeding volumes to develop his narrative and restrain his impulse to remind the reader that he is witnessing the formation of the man destined to "save" Britain in 1940.

Harvard University

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD

THE STEEL INDUSTRY, 1939-1959: A STUDY IN COMPETITION AND PLANNING. By *Duncan Burn*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 728. \$14.50.)

THE steel industry is obviously of vital importance to any industrial nation. Its history therefore becomes far more significant than that of many other industries. Although the author originally intended to write only an addendum to his earlier *Economic History of Steel Making, 1867-1939*, he quite rightly expanded the work until it constitutes a full-scale second volume.

Burn emphasizes throughout the work the necessity for and the difficulties involved in planning for this British industry. He begins with a brief survey of

British steel during the Second World War, stressing those factors which were to be of importance in the postwar world. He shows that, unlike British steel's experience during the First World War, plans for the postwar world were formulated during the war by management, the government, and even by the "philosophers" of the Labour party.

The great bulk of this volume, however, is devoted to the postwar steel industry, 1945-1959. For convenience, the author divides this era into three main periods, each ending with an economic slump. The first period, 1945-1949, was characterized by steel scarcity due to heavy postwar demands and the reduced productivity of the industry on the Continent. As for British steel, expansion was slow, but planned. Scarcities led to the continued allocation of raw materials as well as the products of the industry. During this period the Labour party came to power, and the first step toward nationalization, the creation of the first Steel Board, occurred. Although the British steel industry prospered, the period ended with the general weakening of Britain's international economic position and the devaluation of the pound. The second period, 1949-1954, was characterized by the boom of the Korean War, with the obvious increase in the demand for steel. During this period the industry was nationalized. Steel scarcities continued in Britain, due to the inability to obtain scrap. On the Continent the industry increased its capacity and the European Coal and Steel Community was formed. This period came to its conclusion with the end of the Korean War. The third period, 1954-1958, was characterized by a rapid rise in home consumption in Britain, denationalization, and the comparatively unplanned growth of the industry. It included the growth of the industry throughout the world and a marked increase in the production of continental steel, particularly within West Germany. It ended with the recession of 1958. The volume concludes with the recovery of 1959.

Burn demonstrates throughout an amazing ability to piece together the domestic economic factors determining the growth and fluctuation of the British steel industry, the effects of British governmental and managerial policy decisions, and the international developments affecting the industry. His chapters on the first Steel Board and the nationalization and denationalization of the industry will prove to be of particular value to contemporary British historians. His treatment of the American steel industry and of the European Coal and Steel Community is far more extensive than normally would be expected of what is basically the history of a British industry. The author's grasp and wide use of source materials are remarkable. His vigorous style makes the volume most readable, and although some of his judgments, particularly of politicians and civil servants, may be overly harsh, this work, if not definitive, surely cannot be ignored by any serious economic historian of the contemporary scene.

University of South Carolina

CHARLES W. COOLIDGE

THE ADMINISTRATION OF BRITISH FOREIGN RELATIONS. By *Donald G. Bishop*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 410. \$7.00.)

THIS book—a well-balanced account of the “machinery” by means of which British foreign policy is decided and carried out—should be compulsory reading for all thesis writers and for many of their elders studying British diplomacy. After an introductory chapter on the constitutional position, Professor Bishop deals in turn with the role of the sovereign, the relations between the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, and the position of the cabinet and of Parliament. About a quarter of the book is given to the Foreign Office and British representation abroad; the concluding chapters cover consultation with Commonwealth countries and matters concerned with international organizations, principally the United Nations.

The purpose of the book is descriptive, but Bishop does not limit himself to formal analysis. He discusses the “machine” at work, and the people working it. Although this discussion takes him into controversial ground, his conclusions are largely sound. Sometimes he is a little sweeping. Queen Victoria did not “intimidate” her Foreign Secretaries; she exasperated them. Palmerston and Russell were not easily “intimidated.” British public opinion throughout most of the nineteenth century was more aroused by questions of foreign policy than Bishop allows; consider, for example, the enthusiasm for Kossuth and Garibaldi, or the origin of the term “jingoism.” Not all of Bishop’s authorities are equally trustworthy; Lloyd George was unscrupulous in his *War Memoirs*, especially in criticizing Grey. Churchill’s account of the decade before 1939 is not on a level with the rest of his book.

Bishop notices that Churchill’s relations with the Foreign Office were better than those of Lloyd George. Churchill’s request for Eden’s comments was not exceptional, but normal. He accepted those comments more often than not; when he insisted on his own ideas, he was sometimes right, sometimes wrong. The Foreign Office shared his irritation over the gaffs of Stafford Cripps. One permanent factor in the collaboration between Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary is that Number 10 Downing Street is just across the road from the Foreign Office.

Most people would agree with Bishop that the Foreign Secretary is overworked and that the perambulation of ministers today threatens the proper direction of their departments. Bishop might also have mentioned that Grey (whose predecessors for many years had sat in the Lords) had doubts on taking office whether he could combine his departmental work with the attendance required of him in the Commons.

One should add to this notice of a good book that the author has not only mastered his subject, but has written about it in an interesting way.

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey LLEWELLYN WOODWARD

POLITICS AND RELIGION IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE: A STUDY OF POLITICAL IDEAS FROM THE MONARCHOMACHS TO BAYLE, AS REFLECTED IN THE TOLERATION CONTROVERSY. By *W. J. Stankiewicz*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. x, 269. \$6.00.)

In the eighth stage of *The Progress of the Human Mind*, the Marquis de Condorcet describes the seventeenth century as an age of paradox, a century of revolutions, both political and intellectual, in which the disciples of the new science vied with the defenders of the medieval world view for the soul of Western man. This insurgent century, swept by violent social and intellectual cross-currents, has intrigued historians from Condorcet's day to this; indeed, within the last two years articles have appeared by H. R. Trevor-Roper, Christopher Hill, E. J. Hobsbawm, and Roland Mousnier, to name but a few, all dealing at some length with the complex of ideas, which is now tentatively termed "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century." Stankiewicz' study is also concerned with the general crisis, but as befits a student of the late Harold J. Laski, it deals primarily with the growth of political ideas, particularly those pertaining to religious toleration.

Beginning with a discussion of the principle of true tolerance (as represented by Michel de L'Hôpital and Sébastien Castellion), Stankiewicz traces, albeit rather sketchily, the internecine strife that marked the emergence of a political party from among the Huguenot factions of the late sixteenth century, the political intrigues that formed the background to the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, and the reasons for the appearance of the Protestant theory of "party" as enunciated in the Duc de Rohan's *Discours sur l'état de la France* of 1612. The most cogent section of this study, however, is neatly tucked away in the third chapter which is devoted to "The Influence of Richelieu's Policy and Doctrine." Detailing in rapid succession the political ideas of such theorists as Father Joseph, Cardinal Lebre, and Petro de Marca, Stankiewicz calls attention to the early seventeenth-century quarrel between Gallican and Jesuit, and, at the same time, to the methods Richelieu employed not only in silencing these two factions but in robbing the Huguenots of their political power. Through a close reading of contemporary political and religious tracts, the author traces the tortuous path the great cardinal trod between zealous Catholic and Gallican, Protestant and Jesuit, monarchist and parliamentarian. In the end Richelieu, at his "perfidious best," imposed a "toleration of expediency" on all parties by evoking the doctrine of *salut public*.

Stankiewicz concludes his study with a brief analysis of the absolutist theories of Bishop Bossuet and Élie Merlat. Driven by the logic of absolutism, Louis XIV's servants demanded the suppression of religious dissent in the name of political unity. The antithesis of this view, and in many ways the synthesis of seventeenth-

century thoughts on toleration, appeared in the writings of Pierre Bayle of Rotterdam, a passionate defender of liberty of thought and a vehement opponent of religious bigotry. As Ernst Cassirer observed, Bayle was the "ethical teacher" of the Enlightenment.

Stankiewicz tells his story with cogency, with occasional flashes of insight, and without the pomp of superfluous footnotes. Yet the performance is disappointing, mainly because it is a twice-told tale, which seems especially shopworn when compared to the fresh insights brought to the same subject by such recent works as Warren C. Scoville's *The Persecution of Huguenots*. In addition, Stankiewicz' narrative is studded with anachronisms and peculiarities that will strain the historian's patience: "the feudal underdog"; "the lower classes, kept in servitude in the preceding centuries, had been partly released from their bonds by the advent of Humanism"; "Cardinal de Retz, a defender of liberalism"; "[Bayle's] liberalism had a rationalist background"; "Bayle advanced his religious liberalism on the philosophical plane"; "the quasi-liberal secular monarchism, as represented by Jurieu." Shades of Harold Laski!

Ohio State University

JOHN C. RULE

STRUCTURES ET RELATIONS SOCIALES À PARIS AU MILIEU DU XVIII^e SIÈCLE. By *Adeline Daumard* and *François Furet*. [Cahiers des *Annales*, Number 18.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1961. Pp. 97. 8 new fr.)

This study is a successful beginning for a major task. The authors intended, they state, to show the importance of notarial records as sources for research in social history and to establish a pattern by which those records can be used.

To do so, they have analyzed the 2,597 Parisian marriage contracts of 1749 that are preserved in the Archives Nationales. These contracts list the names, addresses, and professions of the parties being married, similar facts about the parents of the partners and the witnesses to the marriage, and the property bride and bridegroom brought to the new household. In order to answer the questions they ask, the authors have compared first the contributions of property brought by members of various "socio-professional" groups, and then the "socio-professional" positions of persons engaged in the various social relations indicated, that is, bride and bridegroom, father and son, and so on. The results are given in statistical tables and charts accompanied by extensive commentaries.

Though their statistics apply only to those Parisians who had enough property to make it worth their while to have a marriage contract drawn up, the authors have been able to come to a number of general conclusions. They find that Parisian society in 1749 was hierarchical; that the upper echelons of that society were more stable than the lower; that persons in each of the social groups they posit

tended to associate primarily with others of the same group, but also associated to a limited extent with members of neighboring groups in the scale; that occupation was less important than social level in determining associations; and that although rich *roturiers* lived in ease, the nobility was wealthy beyond comparison with the commonalty. None of this will surprise anyone, but the authors have nevertheless accomplished their major aims.

A similar study of the contracts of, say, forty years before would produce results that could be compared with the ones noted here, and the changes would stand out. Were the rich getting richer and the poor poorer? Was the standard of living of "maîtres et marchands" getting higher in comparison with that of the nobility, or lower? This is the kind of question that matters, and the relatively precise answers that statistics can give would be worth knowing. As the authors suggest, computers ought to be used to make further studies of this type.

University of Michigan

CARTER JEFFERSON

FRANCE IN MODERN TIMES: 1760 TO THE PRESENT. By *Gordon Wright*. [Rand McNally History Series.] (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company. 1960. Pp. xiii, 621. \$8.00.)

To present two hundred years of France's history, to treat with more or less equal emphasis the several facets—political, economic, social, diplomatic, intellectual, and cultural—of that history, to array the varying interpretations that have been made of particular developments as well as giving one's own, and to analyze by periods the best of recent scholarship is a large order to fill. Yet this is the task Professor Wright has set for himself. His is the only work to date in this particular series in which a whole volume is devoted to a single country over so long a time span.

This fact immediately provokes two questions. The first and more important: Is there something intrinsic in French history that warrants its treatment on national lines in an era when the vogue is to regard Western Europe as a "cultural syndrome"? An affirmative answer here is essential to accepting the book on its own terms. Few countries indeed in today's world are as much prisoner of the past as France. It is also axiomatic that no other single country is so completely the microcosm of Western civilization.

The second question asks at what audience the book is aimed. Because of the magnitude of the subject, the book is essentially a survey. But in spite of this, the book does require considerable prior knowledge of factual details. In deliberately avoiding making this a reference work, the author has perhaps been somewhat too sparing with what he calls "the essential framework of events." In brief, the study is unavoidably somewhat dilute for the specialized graduate student but too sophisticated for the average undergraduate. The ideal reader would be the intelligent lay adult who wishes understanding of the phenomenon of modern

France. Yet the general format is likely to scare off all but the most hardy in this category.

Doubts as to the wider usefulness of the book must not obscure its very real merits. A praiseworthy device is the use of topical subsections within each major chronological division, even though this does create some repetition. In addition, few historians currently writing can match Wright in the well-turned phrase, the graceful, easy presentation that defies the platitudinous. Moreover, here is an author who has something to say. His handling of the clerical issue under the Third Republic is extremely lucid, and he is of course excellent when he moves into interpretations of the 1930's and 1940's.

An even stronger reason, however, asserts itself to argue that the book should have been done. If what differentiates the historian's task from other disciplines concerned with human societies is movement through time, then a study that embraces two centuries of French history has by this very fact something to contribute, which histories of more conventional scope cannot do. Here is continuity. Here the author works upon the whole canvas, moving backward and forward in time, drawing parallels and contrasts that enrich the whole.

Paris, France

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

THE GIRONDINS. By *M. J. Sydenham*. [University of London Historical Series, Number 8.] (London: University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1961. Pp. viii, 252. \$5.60.)

THIS study, an abridgement of a dissertation approved several years ago at the University of London, dispels a number of legends and ends by making a serious contribution to our understanding of the Girondins and their role in the French Revolution.

The legends, fostered mightily by historians unable to discount properly the propaganda of the Montagnard opponents and the apologia of the Girondins, are critically and efficiently destroyed. Earlier serious efforts by Aulard, Perroud, and Stephens to identify Girondins and to measure party strength, while admittedly useful, seem unsatisfactory when placed against two basic questions posed by Dr. Sydenham. Was there a Girondin party, and was there a Girondin policy? The answer to both is a brisk negative. The existence of three Girondin salons and a small group of highly individualistic men who sat in the Legislative Assembly and the later Convention cannot be denied. That these men generally agreed on moderation toward the imprisoned Louis XVI, or that, after September 1792 they feared Robespierre wanted their lives scarcely made them a party with a program. At the end, in June 1793, these few stood in closer rapport than ever before against the Montagnard minority and the armed men of the sections of Paris, acting under instructions issued from the Evêché. But even in this final confrontation with the common enemy they could not agree upon a unified defense.

If there was any unity in this group, it arose from their opposition to the dictatorship of the Parisian activists. Possibly, too, as Sydenham suggests, there was a basic philosophic difference between these vague deists whose "Voltairean-Encyclopaedist" faith sought knowledge through reason, and a man like Robespierre who is seen as an exponent of "the more emotional and romantic philosophy of Rousseau." This suggestion might be tested by some enterprising student looking for a subject. Sydenham's work also indicates that valuable research could be done on the idea and practice of federalism as conceived in late eighteenth-century France.

The author has skillfully used the relevant manuscripts of the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Committee of General Security located in the Archives Nationales, the Croker Collection in the British Museum, and a host of printed sources. It is possible that the papers of the sections of Paris might yield some insights into the relationships between those hot spots of revolutionary activity and the hard core Girondin leadership. At one time some of those sections were said to be Girondin in sympathy. Claude Bowers' *Pierre Vergniaud* (1950), based in part on departmental and municipal archives and family papers, might have enriched the passages devoted to the "voice" from the Gironde. It is unlikely that these sources would alter seriously the line of argument or the conclusion of this highly competent, vigorously written book.

Northwestern University

RICHARD M. BRACE

LOS ARCHIVOS DE LA HISTORIA DE AMÉRICA. Volume I, PERÍODO COLONIAL ESPAÑOL. By *Lino Gómez Canedo*. (México, D.F.: [Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia.] 1961. Pp. xvi, 654.)

ÍNDICE HISTÓRICO ESPAÑOL: BIBLIOGRAFÍA HISTÓRICA DE ESPAÑA E HISPANOAMÉRICA. Volume IV, 1958. [Centro de Estudios Históricos Internacionales. Universidad de Barcelona. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.] (Barcelona: Editorial Teide. 1960. Pp. xxxii, 838. \$8.50.)

EACH of these aids to scholarship is a useful work, carefully prepared by specialists for specialists according to highest scholarly canons. The description of archives and related repositories by Padre Lino Gómez Canedo is a required reference work of high merit; the *Índice*, compiled at the University of Barcelona, earlier took its place as a standard tool with the appearance of the first volume in 1954, covering production of the years 1952-1953.

Volume IV of the *Índice*, like earlier numbers, combines into a single volume the separate triennial issues (numbers 21-23), to which have then been added important front and end matter. Most of the essential features of the *Índice* have been retained; some salutary editorial changes have occurred. Its fields, Spain through all periods and Spanish America through independence, remain the same, but

Volume IV, drawing on a world literature of books and articles, gives a greater emphasis to cultural developments than have the previous three. An interesting and important appendix lists the scholarly and other journals used by the *Índice* since Volume I, with an indication of those which henceforth will be regularly utilized. The numerous contributors continue their almost unique system of adding to their annotations one of ten signs giving a "grade" to the work, ranging from two circles for "a considerable contribution" to a symbol, indicating "deformation of the topic." All told, there are about 6,100 such entries, and about another 1,000 that list reviews of books. A complete author index of Volumes III-IV terminates the present volume.

A notable feature is a long and very able summary in the introductory section by Guillermo Céspedes (of the University of Seville) on Hispano-American studies, programs and research, in institutions of Europe and the United States. This is a unique published inventory of resources and activities, and is remarkably accurate, with useful bibliographical footnotes. Céspedes even passes dispassionate professional judgment on Hispano-American programs in Spain itself, a remarkable feat.

Turning to quite a different aspect of the Hispanic world, we find the work of the Franciscan, Gómez Canedo, equally representing a great Spanish tradition of historiography. He has written a masterly summary of institutional resources for the documented study of Spanish-American colonial history. The present work is the first of two promised summary volumes on collections of documents in Europe, Latin America, the United States, and elsewhere. As part of his own general program of publication, Padre Lino also hopes to complete a massive bibliography as a complementary contribution.

Originally designed as a less extensive inventory for publication in Spain, the descriptions of Americanist collections were broadened at the suggestion of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History to fill a gap in its own series on various national missions to European archives and related studies. Through personal visits to most of the repositories he discusses, and from years of work in some of them, the author has added important data to previous partial descriptions. He gives a panoramic view based on printed literature and on indispensable individual verification.

The guide is primarily aimed at the working historian, not the professional archivist. It provides data on the history of the institution or collection, its nature, the main or special finding aids (published and unpublished), and much other relevant information. The descriptions do not seek to replace detailed calendars and guides, but to lead the specialist to them, with relevant background information to make them more useful. In a sphere more remarkable for chaos than order, this clear summary should prove an indispensable vade mecum.

This first of a promised two volumes is restricted to the public and private archives in Spain and Spanish America. The author has taken into account and

usually gone considerably beyond such standard summaries as Tudela for Spain and Hill for Latin America. At the same time it should be noted that a lamentable delay in publication leaves a gap in bibliography of guides and descriptions after about 1954. One such important omission is an excellent and complementary summary by Ernest J. Burrus. Through 1954, however, Gómez Canedo's coverage is as comprehensive as is possible within his stated limits.

It is doubtful whether any single historical investigator in a lifetime of research could cover all the materials touched on in even this one volume, the documentary residue of half a millennium of Hispanic development, ranging from the great state papers to the scrubbiest of parochial archives in remote and unpronounceable Indian villages in overseas domains. The former tend to be in Spanish repositories, often with local copies and other regional administrative concerns of lesser import in the more numerous American centers. Obviously the latter differ qualitatively and quantitatively according to their importance in the Spanish colonial system. The great viceregal archives of Mexico and Peru rise above the foothills of smaller units. Brazil and Portugal do not figure in the volume, except in a very peripheral way.

The workmanlike and wholly welcome effort by Gómez Canedo certainly warrants the black circle awarded by editors of the *Índice* to those works "which enrich an important topic" by virtue of documentation or bibliography. It may even deserve the coveted two circles, conservatively stated as "representing a considerable progress in the march of historiography."

Library of Congress

HOWARD F. CLINE

FALANGE: A HISTORY OF SPANISH FASCISM. By *Stanley G. Payne*. [Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science, Number 22.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 316. \$6.00.)

THE origin, rise, and influence of the *Falange* have been obscure because of the lack of an authoritative investigation of its history. Dr. Payne has now remedied this deficiency. Hitherto, the incomplete and tentative descriptions of the *Falange* have been oriented toward Left or Right, and the subject has been clouded by prejudice. Payne has not allowed his own personal bias to interfere with his presentation of the intricate problem in a commendable manner.

The problem is intricate because the *Falange* was a movement, fascist in organization but revolutionary in concept. Spain was the "last of the larger west European nations to develop a native fascist movement. . . ." After the Revolution of 1931, Ramiro Ledesma Ramos and Onésimo Redondo Ortega formed independent nationalist groups protesting the failure of the Republicans to resolve the problems confronting them. In Madrid and Valladolid these movements supplied the germs of Spanish national syndicalism and had the ideological concepts of social re-

form on which José Antonio Primo de Rivera founded the *Falange Español* on October 29, 1933.

Payne assesses the personality and charm of Primo de Rivera with sympathy and understanding. He was "the victim of his own contradictions; his twisted and confused career led him to deny his basic instincts. José Antonio's greatest asset was an extremely fine sense of style. He was a very singular fascist, so different, in fact, that the term hardly suits him. His rhetoric was frequently wholesome and sometimes even sublime. His career was inherently tragic, and he proved an ideal political martyr."

The *Falange* had a violent record of street encounters and was immature. Primo de Rivera was chosen *jefe nacional* and was a dynamic though indecisive leader. His execution in November 1936 left the party leaderless and impotent. Although the *Falange* "did contribute to the outbreak of the Civil War" and was fused with the Carlists by Franco as the sole state party, it was maintained as a party because "of the fascist vogue and of the great need for a state ideology and a political framework." Its power declined after the Civil War and was depleted by 1943, when the movement was converted into a "tame bureaucratic instrument." It "survived, like the regime, because its enemies could never agree among themselves on how to remove it or with what to replace it." By 1959 "there was nothing to contradict the contention that *falangismo*, as an organized living force, was entirely dead."

Payne has made a real contribution to the history of Spain. Following the intricate threads of the vicissitudes of the *Falange*, he has presented a brilliant insight into the intrigue of Spanish politics from 1933 to 1959. His bibliography is excellent; the only omissions of importance appear to be the French edition of Juan Antonio Ansaldo, *Mémoires d'un monarchiste espagnol* (1953), and José María de Areilza and Fernando María Castiella, *Reindivivaciones de España* (1941). The latter volume, especially, would have provided additional material on the imperial objectives of Spain when the *Falange* was dominated by Ramón Serrano y Súñer and Spanish foreign policy was oriented toward the Axis. Above all, Payne has accomplished the difficult and delicate task of collecting information through personal interviews from those who were active in the formulation of policies.

Rollins College

RHEA MARSH SMITH

SIKKERHETSPOLITIKKEN, 1920-1939, FRA FORHISTORIEN TIL 9. APRIL 1940. Volume I, SOLIDARITET ELLER NØYTRALITET? Volume II, VERN ELLER VAKT? By Nils Ørvik. [Utgitt ved Forsvarets Krigshistoriske Avdeling.] (Oslo: Johan Grundt Tanum Forlag. 1960; 1961. Pp. 422; 479.)

THIS two-volume work is a substantial and exceptionally able study of the

formation and implementation of defense and military policies in Norway during the two decades of the interwar period. The background for those policies, the ones that were effectuated as well as those that failed to materialize, the ideas and opinions prevalent among the various parties and parliamentarians, and the consequent reasons for Norway's generally weak military position are fully discussed and analyzed with insight and good judgment, the chips being allowed to fly where they may.

Very few Norwegians had failed to give wholehearted support to the completely neutral stance that had succeeded in keeping the nation, as was also the case in Sweden and Denmark, out of the conflict of 1914-1918, although at times these seemingly "sacred" principles were honored as much in their breach as in their observance. With the advent of the League of Nations, Norwegian statesmen were faced with a real dilemma: should their country's future security rest on hewing closely to neutrality in every eventuality or was a collective security system for keeping the peace, with its economic and military sanctions, a more reliable and preferable solution? And how was Norway's security to be materially implemented in either of these situations, that is, should a larger or a still smaller share of the national budget be allocated to armaments? How tentative and very hesitant adherence to collective security principles was followed by vacillation and doubt and the eventual return to the imagined haven of neutrality makes an instructive story.

Dr. Ørvik examines in great detail the domestic political developments of the period, summarizes much of the running debate, and points out how the philosophy underlying the political platforms served to influence foreign policy and the military measures taken. In laying bare such interrelationships, Ørvik also indicates how the outcome of the political struggles on the Norwegian domestic scene could only with great difficulty have been expected to lead to the formulation of military policies that would strengthen the nation.

In Volume I the author deals masterfully with Norwegian attitudes toward the League, the hopes and expectations engendered by active participation in the work of the organization, the widespread sentiment for drastic reduction of Norway's armed forces, the Defense Acts of 1927 and 1933, the continued wavering between "Neutrality and Solidarity," and the coming to power in 1935 of the pacifist and internationalist Labor party. When, in the late thirties, with Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish adoption of a *de facto* policy of strict neutrality in any future conflict, developments seemed to have come full circle.

Volume II presents a lucid and well-balanced account of the various defense policies espoused by the political parties during the thirties, the different alternatives open to them, the positions taken by parties and politicians being ever radically influenced by events on the Continent. The rise of National Socialism, the Ethiopian War, the failure of sanctions, and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia all had serious repercussions on the Norwegian political scene. The

chief responsibility for Norway's weak military establishment on the eve of the Second World War must be laid at the door of the Norwegian Labor party, one of whose leaders, Foreign Minister Halvdan Koht, was one of many who never seemed to lose faith in the safety that friendship with Great Britain might confer, in a policy of strict neutrality, and in the benefits to be derived, in the long run, by preferring butter to guns.

These volumes illuminate the history of a period in transition and ideological conflict. In their preparation, Ørvik has delved deeply into all available sources and into the voluminous literature and also has interviewed numerous individuals who held key positions. Ørvik's incisive analyses, his fine literary style, and the excellent organization place this work in the very front rank of books dealing with recent Scandinavian history.

American-Scandinavian Foundation

ERIK J. FRIIS

THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL DESPAIR: A STUDY IN THE RISE OF THE GERMANIC IDEOLOGY. By *Fritz Stern*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1961. Pp. xxx, 367. \$8.00.)

STERN's *Politics of Cultural Despair* is both a specialized monograph in German intellectual history and an important contribution to the understanding of the roots of National Socialism. It provides, in its monographic aspect, the best study available of three champions of the "Germanic ideology": the Göttingen professor, Lagarde (1827–1891); the literary vagabond, Langbehn (1851–1907), author of *Der Rembrandideutsche* (1890); and Moeller van den Bruck (1876–1925), the eloquent champion of the "Conservative Revolution" during the Weimar Republic. Stern is not only excellent at lucidly summarizing the confused thought of these writers; he also explains how they came to think as they did. He classifies them as uprooted modern intellectuals who felt themselves alienated from a world dominated by bourgeois Philistinism, rationalism, and science. Their sense of isolation easily turned to self-hatred and a mood of cultural despair; normal human relationships became quite impossible; and the ferocious hatred of modernity led them to a naïve belief that all its evils could be transcended by a "conservative revolution" whose specific character differed from author to author. Lagarde preached a primitive "Germanic religion," Langbehn, the aesthetic rejuvenation of Germany, Moeller, the superficially political but essentially spiritual achievement of a "Third Reich."

Stern presents vivid portraits of these three champions of "Germanic ideology." His analysis is admirable in avoiding psychological jargon and in relating his figures to their German social milieu. Perhaps he could have done more with the concept of generation since his subjects were born at intervals of twenty-five years apart (1827, 1851, 1876). The Germany of the 1840's when Lagarde received his education, was very different from the 1890's, when Moeller received

his, and this in part explains significant differences in their thought and its influence. I believe that Stern somewhat exaggerates the homogeneity of the "Germanic ideology" as he places it in a general German intellectual tradition whose roots lie in romanticism and whose culmination came in Nazism. His book shows how the German elite was culturally prepared for Nazism because proto-Nazi ideas had long been considered respectable: "A thousand teachers in republican Germany who in their youth had read and worshiped Lagarde or Langbehn were just as important to the triumph of National Socialism as all the putative millions of marks that Hitler collected from German tycoons."

Stern discriminatingly traces the roots of the "Germanic ideology" backward, and he is aware that his figures borrowed ideas in accordance with their subjective needs, not the objective weight any idea possessed in the total thought of a "precursor." He notes the influence of Herder's *Volksgeist*, Fichte's national mission, Jahn's anti-Semitism, Hegel's dialectic, as well as the general romantic admiration for passion and heroism and corresponding hatred for reason and social conformity. Many readers will be surprised, on the other hand, by the eloquent vindication of Nietzsche.

Stern shows that the "Germanic ideology" led directly to Nazism because its enemies (liberalism, democracy, and so forth) were the enemies of the Nazis also; its adherents, while often contemptuous of Nazi vulgarity, were predestined to become "fellow-travellers" of Nazism. Some, to be sure, refused to "acknowledge the reality of Hitler's Reich as a realization of their dream." "But," asks Stern, "could there have been any other 'Third Reich'? Was there a safe stopping place in this wild leap from political reality? Can one abjure reason, glorify force, prophesy the age of the imperial dictator . . . without preparing the triumph of irresponsibility? The Germanic critics did all that, thereby demonstrating the terrible dangers of the politics of cultural despair."

It is a special merit of Stern's treatment that he combines his examination of the German case of the "Conservative Revolution" with a recognition that the phenomenon is world wide. He is aware of such parallel non-German figures as Maurras and D'Annunzio and points out that our own McCarthyism appealed to the same "subterranean and neurotic forces" of cultural despair. His introduction gives an excellent analysis of the whole complex of forces, including a specific cultural tradition, a retarded political development, and a singular cluster of military and economic misfortune, that explain why the German case of the "conservative revolutionary" disease became historically more important than similar developments in happier lands.

It should be noted, finally, that Stern's book is a delight to read. His erudition is never allowed to smother a brilliant style, and nearly every paragraph is marked by arresting epigrams.

Brown University

KLAUS EPSTEIN

DIE NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHE MACHTERGREIFUNG: STUDIEN ZUR ERRICHTUNG DES TOTALITÄREN HERRSCHAFTSSYSTEMS IN DEUTSCHLAND 1933/34. By *Karl Dietrich Bracher et al.* [Schriften des Instituts für Politische Wissenschaft, Number 14.] (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1960. Pp. xx, 1034. DM 59.)

THIS volume is the logical sequel to Professor Bracher's significant *Auflösung der Weimarer Republik* (1955). Like its predecessor, this substantial and impressive work is the result of copious research at the Institut für Politische Wissenschaft of the Free University in West Berlin where Bracher was the director of the political section prior to his appointment as professor of history at Bonn. In scope, method, and scholarly quality the two volumes are of a common mold and testify to the excellence of the work performed by this institute which was founded in the postwar years with American assistance.

The present volume actually represents three separate but coordinated monographs. The first part, by Bracher, deals with the complex but amazingly systematic and direct process of political *Gleichschaltung*, including the ideological and cultural aspects, the church struggle, and the destruction of political parties and labor unions. The second part, an analysis of the *Gleichschaltung* of the government administration and of the economy is the work of Gerhard Schulz, a staff member of the institute. In the third part Wolfgang Sauer, who contributed the chapter on the army in Bracher's earlier work, scrutinizes the crucial and abject role played by the German army during the critical first months of the Nazi regime.

The great value of this study of Hitler's seizure of power and of the rapid transformation of the Weimar Republic into a totalitarian state lies chiefly in three spheres, all of them indispensable to sound scholarship: admirable objectivity, lucid presentation, and full documentation. The discussion of the events of 1933-1934, involving the thoughts and deeds of many persons still alive, is obviously a delicate matter, especially for a young, striving historian. But it is perhaps characteristic of the younger generation of West German scholars that they courageously tackle the problems of the recent past, or *Zeitgeschichte*, in the hope of clearing the contemporary political atmosphere. Of course, the evidence is so copious and eloquent on almost all aspects of the period, and it is being presented so fearlessly in this volume, that the reader can easily draw his own conclusion as to the relative responsibility of the actors in that fast-moving drama. The result in this case is a judiciously balanced, pluralistic interpretation of the phenomenon and the success of Nazism, which avoids reckless extremism in either direction and places the accents where they belong as dictated by the evidence.

Among the many lessons to be drawn from this study, two stand out as fateful leitmotiv: the brazen directness of the Nazi plans and tactics in seizing all instruments of power from the very first day, and the naïve and irresponsible

collaboration of non-Nazi political, economic, and military leaders at this critical hour. Confident of their superior wisdom and ability (like Papen) or swayed by the dynamics of a totalitarian national movement (like General von Blomberg), many leaders handed Hitler the positions of power on a silver platter. Nothing could be more fatal and perhaps typical than the way German army leaders, brought up in the old Prussian tradition of Christian ethics and absolute loyalty, voluntarily (with very few exceptions) accepted the vulgarities, illegalities, and outright crimes of Hitler's regime. Even future leaders of the resistance like Generals Beck and von Tresckow, and the gallant Colonel von Stauffenberg were at first "taken in" by the ideology and dynamics of the Nazi movement. Could one expect less naïveté from the rank and file? And yet over 56 per cent of the German people dared to vote against Hitler in the last election in the Reich, two months after the establishment of police and party terror—a far better performance than that shown by their leaders!

The authors have used all accessible published and unpublished sources, including many new materials which have been collected by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich (documents located in East Germany were not accessible). Among the most valuable assets of this study are the full critical notes which amplify almost every significant point made in the text and an extensive, well-chosen bibliography of thirty-eight pages. This is so far the richest, most balanced, and best-documented one-volume study on the first phase of the Nazi regime, the indispensable work for every student of this contemporary problem.

American University

CARL G. ANTHON

GÊNES AU XV^e SIÈCLE: ACTIVITÉ ÉCONOMIQUE ET PROBLÈMES SOCIAUX. By *Jacques Heers*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Number 24.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1961. Pp. 741.)

GÊNES ET LES FOIRES DE CHANGE DE LYON À BESANÇON. By *Domenico Gioffrè*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Number 21.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1960. Pp. xv, 292.)

THESE complementary works are both products of the École Pratique des Hautes Études and reflect the influence and inspiration of its director Fernand Braudel. Taken together they provide a meticulous examination of Genoese history and economic life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Though neither of the volumes covers a long chronological span, both are so well founded on hitherto unused sources that they should influence research in Genoese history for some time to come.

The broader of the two is Jacques Heers's study of Genoa in the fifteenth century, which should stand as one of the more important contributions to the

general history of that city made in the past twenty years. In his research the author examined not only archival materials in Genoa and elsewhere, but also delved into the forbidding plenty of the notarial registers. Convinced that an examination in depth of a limited period would be of greater value than a scattered sampling of notarial cartularies from the entire century, Heers read every document from the years 1447 to 1466, an important period in the economic life of the city, since the losses of Pera and Phocaea in 1453 and 1455 compelled its merchants to reorient their commerce from the eastern to the western Mediterranean.

Heers's book opens with an analysis of Genoa's geography, proceeds to discuss the disputed figures of its population (the author establishes that during the fifteenth century the city's population climbed to more than 100,000), and touches upon the question of immigration. Analyses of the monetary system, the supply of precious metals, and instruments of exchange and banking are followed by a presentation of the multifarious activities of the Banco di San Giorgio. The author goes on to discuss capital investment in trade and manufacture and credit in general. Descriptions of transportation, ships and shipbuilding, local trade in grain, salt, wine, and olive oil are followed by the lengthy examination of international trade, which constitutes the central part of the study. An analysis of fifteenth-century Genoese society and a description of politics and government bring the work to a close.

Domenico Gioffrè, currently director of the Archivio di Stato di Genova, has produced a work somewhat narrower in scope and subject, which rests upon an exhaustive sifting of the relevant notarial, diplomatic, and economic sources, and describes and analyzes the role of the Genoese merchants and bankers in the international fairs of Lyon between 1494 and 1535. That brief span of time marked a crucial epoch in the economic history of the Genoese Republic and in the economies and politics of the greater states of Europe as well. Part One of Gioffrè's work deals chiefly with this "external" history. With remarkable agility the Genoese "men of affairs" strove to preserve and augment their prosperity in the midst of Genoa's involvement in the high politics engendered by the struggle between Habsburg and Valois. Driven from Lyon in 1528 by the hostility of the French crown, they removed their place of exchange first to Monluel, then to Chambéry, and finally, thanks still to French enmity and to the recalcitrant Charles III of Savoy, who in 1534 expelled them from his territories, the Genoese settled at Besançon in the spring of 1535.

Parts Two and Three present the author's analyses of economic questions. With prudent modesty, Gioffrè urges caution in the interpretation of the numerous statistical tables illustrating these technical matters. Part Two, "Le mouvement des marchandises," discusses Genoese customs regulations affecting traffic with the fairs, particularly the *drictus Sabaudie* (a special impost to cover the cost of purchasing safe conduct through the duchy of Savoy); Genoa's exports to the

fairs and the dominance of Genoese silk stuffs (especially velvets); and the character and volume of imports from the fairs. Part Three, "Les changes," deals with the difficult question of the money market, the types of exchange contracts employed in this traffic, and the movement and amounts of payments between Genoa and Lyon. This section concludes with a brief discussion of the comparatively limited number of loans to sovereigns by Genoese and a fresh interpretation of the circumstances surrounding the move to Besançon.

All readers should be pleased by the scholarly apparatus in each of these volumes. In addition to full and informative footnotes in the text, the lengthy fourth part of Gioffrè's work is devoted to the publication of sources. Almost seven hundred documents are presented, most summarized in French, but in twenty-one key instances, with full Latin text. Heers's volume contains more than a hundred pages of graphs and maps illustrating the text, and both books are equipped with bibliographies of secondary works and lists of the unpublished sources consulted.

University of Cincinnati

R. D. FACE and V. SLESSAREV

MUSSOLINI'S ENEMIES: THE ITALIAN ANTI-FASCIST RESISTANCE.

By *Charles F. Delzell*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xix, 620. \$12.50.)

READERS of this book will readily see why it has been awarded the George Louis Beer Prize of the American Historical Association. It is a first-rate book on an important subject which puts that subject on a new footing.

The history of Fascism has long been exposed to the view of foreign readers. The Italian opposition to Fascism has not. Professor Delzell has met the need for a closer examination of the other side of the coin.

He has accomplished a task of enormous difficulty. The twenty-odd years of thought and action that he describes began in opposition and evolved into a militant effort to expiate the past and create a new Italy. It was shot through with conflicts and controversies which are reflected in the mass of literature, contemporary and retrospective, that it produced. To the end, much of the movement was not open to the observation of detached witnesses, and it left no systematic "official" documentation against which to check memories and memoirs. Delzell has courageously attacked the massive tangle of evidence now available and reduced it to order in an exposition that brings us, I believe, close to historical truth.

His book is invaluable as a synthesis, but its most important contribution is his reconstruction of the movement in the north after the overthrow of Mussolini in July 1943. Here the militants confronted the armed Neo-Fascist Republic as well as the Germans. They had to "clench their teeth in clandestinity" while their fellows in the south openly indulged in politics. They achieved coordina-

tion and a remarkable discipline. But because their leaders were drawn from leftist parties they were treated with anxious suspicion by the Allies. Delzell makes a strong case for the view that it was chiefly in the north that a new Italy was forged—that “other Italy” which surprised the Allies when at last they broke through the Gothic Line and which has since impressed the world.

Delzell has arrayed his facts with skill, but he has packed them in. One of his essential aims—to define the boundaries between the knowledge now mastered and that which still needs to be obtained—required that he do this. Rich bibliographical notes, placed, happily, where the reader can see them as he goes, reveal the tracks of his research and map the evidence now available. It would be hard to pass a detailed examination on such a book. But it is a live and memorable work. It is alive with the author’s interest in his subject, which has nerved him to perform fifteen years of hard labor on it, and it is memorable, not only for its scholarship, but for the insight, fairness, and firmness of judgment with which he answers the questions that his theme raises. Finally, he writes clear, vigorous, and resourceful English, from time to time sending up a star shell that illuminates a wide terrain, as when he says of the *coup d’état* of July 25, 1943, that it left Italy with a royal-military dictatorship of two “mediocre and superannuated Machiavellians”; or, again, of “the wind from the North” after the liberation, that within a month it “had all but blown itself out against the soporific sirocco [in the south] and the prevailing westerlies from the Atlantic world.”

Baltimore, Maryland

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA: A CRITICAL HISTORY. By Kurt Glaser. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers. 1961. Pp. xvi, 275. \$5.50.)

THE author of this treatise has gone to some trouble to present a clearly oriented case as “critical history.” A portion of the case is already declared in the hyphen in Czecho-Slovakia. He indicates thus his contention that the two areas, Czechy (Bohemia and Moravia) and Slovakia, were not legally and constitutionally united. He then proceeds to formulate a “Czechoslovak legend” including ten propositions that he sets out to disprove. I know of no person or group that adheres to these statements as a whole. To answer Mr. Glaser’s points seriatim would give them a status they hardly deserve. The first chapter contains “A Glance through History.” The glance has more factual errors than such a short sketch would normally justify. The documentation, here as in the rest of the book, is from German or Sudeten-German sources, and then not the best ones. Details in German as well as in Slovak history are carelessly handled. The author makes no claim to use of Czech or Slovak and takes his occasional quotations from Czech or Slovak sources from Sudeten-German translations.

The account of the relations between Czechs and Sudeten Germans before

Munich seems to distort the facts. He treats the Runciman mission and report seriously. "But the decision reached at Munich was not necessarily immoral in itself." The brief account of the Munich crisis seems somewhat fanciful. The Slovak state (1939-1944) is represented as "never totalitarian." Beneš' pact with the Kremlin was an "unholy alliance." Glaser must not have read the full story of how it came about that Beneš was given no alternative by the Western powers to such an alliance. It hardly seems proper to blame the wartime exile government for following instructions from the Western powers to make its peace with Soviet Russia before returning to Prague. Wenzel Jaksch is quoted as authority for an interpretation of Czech opinion during the war. Beneš is blamed for adopting the Košice program, yet there is no suggestion as to what real choice he had, in view of the reluctance of the Western powers to give him any adequate support against Soviet demands.

The story of the taking of Prague in May 1945 is based on Sudeten-German sources, and there is no account of the activities of the Second Ukrainian Army which was responsible for much of the brutality that occurred. Some of the details that are given do not command credence. Whatever actually happened, the Czechoslovak government had no choice in the matter, just as Beneš had no choice in the cession of Ruthenia. Glaser has every right to criticize the policy of the United States in setting lines of demarcation between Soviet and American occupations, but he hardly has a right to connect, by association, that policy with the Beneš government by a simple remark such as "Be that as it may."

The thought that Beneš could have blocked the February 1948 coup is not original with Glaser. Yet no one has shown that any other course than the one Beneš followed could have done more than precipitate civil war, with immediate Soviet intervention.

Glaser is unhappy about the Czech broadcasts from Radio Free Europe. Of the Czechoslovak Institute in Exile and the Council of Free Czechoslovakia he disapproves severely, as do the Sudeten-German organizations generally. It would appear that in Glaser's eyes every charge against these Czechoslovak *émigré* groups by Sudeten-German or American Slovak organizations is justified. The Germans who were "expelled" in 1945 now claim that according to the principle of *Heimatrecht* they should be allowed to return and form a federated state with the Czechs. Glaser asks that the Czechs, with a long history of persecution and deceit on the part of their German and Austrian neighbors and masters should now trust their *bona fides*. This book presents the position of the Sudeten Germans in its entirety. It might have been a better case if it had been more objectively and carefully prepared.

University of Colorado

S. HARRISON THOMSON

RIFT AND REVOLT IN HUNGARY. By *Ferenc A. Váli*. [Prepared under the auspices of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. xvii, 590. \$9.75.)

SINCE the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, books on that tragic event and on Hungary in general have become relatively numerous. Váli's book, which deals with Communist Hungary from 1945 to 1960, is an outstanding contribution.

The author was professor of international law in the Faculty of Law of the University of Budapest and later research associate of the Harvard Center for International Affairs. From 1951 to 1956 when he escaped from Hungary, he suffered political imprisonment. Both because of personal conviction and personal experience, he feels a deep sense of outrage over the Communization of Hungary. His book, however, is no impassioned denunciation of Communism by an embittered exile. It is a very sophisticated critique of Communism. Trained in the polemical school of anti-Trianon revisionism and possessing an agile intellect, keen analytical ability, vast erudition, cosmopolitan culture, and finesse of expression, Váli shows his disapproval of Communist policies by urbane irony rather than by invective. In general, his book is a rational, lucid, and detailed analysis of the theory and practice of Communism in Hungary, its clash with nationalism culminating in the Revolution of 1956, and its evolution since the Revolution.

For his sources Váli has of necessity drawn heavily on printed Communist materials: the organs of the Hungarian Communist party, *Szabad Nép* (until 1956) and *Népszabadság* (after 1956); other Hungarian papers, books, pamphlets, and monitored broadcasts; and Imre Nagy's *On Communism: In Defense of the New Course* (1957), which was originally a confidential memorandum addressed by the former Communist Prime Minister to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist party in an effort to defend his policies in 1953-1955. Other sources used by Váli were Hungarian and foreign eyewitness accounts of the Revolution of 1956 and interviews with Hungarian exiles gathered in the Columbia University Research Project on Hungary. Because of the Communist penchant for secrecy, indirection, and a special jargon that is incomprehensible to an untrained outsider, Communist sources are—despite their relative abundance—not very revealing. To draw a coherent story from them, Váli had to do much "reading between the lines" and often resorted to guesswork. His speculations, however, are closely reasoned, and he succeeds generally in drawing a convincing picture of Communist internal and external policies in Hungary and their close dependence on Communist internal and external policies in Soviet Russia.

As an anatomy of a satellite, Váli's *Rift and Revolt in Hungary* ranks with Táborský's *Communism in Czechoslovakia* and as an analysis of Soviet-satellite relations, with Brzezinski's *The Soviet Bloc*.

Florida State University

VICTOR S. MAMATEY

THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA. Edited by *Richard Pipes*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. 234. \$4.50.)

FIRST published in the summer of 1960 as an issue of *Dædalus*, this collection of essays by twelve scholars has deservedly received more permanent housing in this hard-cover edition by Columbia University Press.

The subject of this book is frustratingly elusive. Many dictionaries do not recognize the word "intelligentsia" at all. As this symposium only confirms, even specialists disagree as to what the intelligentsia is. Every essay tussles in its own way with the problem of definition. The results seem best summarized in a story in Leopold Labedz' essay, "An intelligent is an intelligent." Though it defies definition, the Russian intelligentsia is a subject of concrete significance, no less so than the bureaucracy.

This symposium was not designed to present an exhaustive or even a unified treatment of the problem. Indeed, much of its value lies precisely in its diversity. Yet there is a discernible order.

Four of the twelve essays deal with the prerevolutionary Russian intelligentsia: Martin Malia gives a historian's answer to the question "What Is the Intelligentsia?" Leonard Schapiro then describes the attitudes of that intelligentsia toward the legal order in tsarist Russia. Boris Elkin gives an account of the intelligentsia on the eve of the Revolution. Finally, Richard Pipes presents an essay on the historical evolution of the Russian intelligentsia, which he sees as a part of Russia's Westernization. Six essays deal with the Soviet period: Leopold Labedz tries to define the Soviet intelligentsia in terms of Soviet statistics in an effort to show their place and function in the Soviet society. David Burg (pseudonym of a recent Soviet *émigré*) gives an extremely valuable description of main currents of thought among Soviet university students, of whom he was one from 1951 to 1956. Both Leopold Haimson and Max Hayward draw on Soviet literature—the former to portray the evolution of the Soviet intellectual as a solitary hero among Philistines, and the latter to analyze the scope and significance of the post-Stalin "thaw" in Soviet literature. The next two authors discuss Soviet scientists. David Joravsky contributes a chapter from the manuscript of his book *Soviet Marxism and Natural Science, 1917–1932*, in which he treats the year 1929 as the "great break" in the attempt to convert Soviet natural scientists to Marxist ideology. Father Gustav Wetter discusses the present relationship of ideology and science in the Soviet Union in what is probably the most profound essay in the book.

The two final essays were included to lend perspective by discussing the intelligentsia outside of Russia. Benjamin Schwartz offers an extremely enlightening comparison of the Chinese and Russian intelligentsia which he calls "tentative" but which will last me a long time. Julián Marias writes about the intelligentsia in modern Spain without attempting to relate his subject to the rest of the book.

If anything can be more impossible than to define "intelligentsia," it must be

to present a critical review of a symposium. One can venture the opinion that the essays on the prerevolutionary intelligentsia too narrowly identify their subject with Westernism and liberal or radical protest, while some of the essays on the post-revolutionary intelligentsia may be too inclusive in their definition. One might even argue that the pre- and postrevolutionary intelligentsia are not really comparable. One might ask about the non-Russian intelligentsia in both the Russian Empire and in the Soviet Union or even express doubt in the usefulness of the essay on Spain in this volume, though we do not doubt its intrinsic worth. All these and other possible points of dissent are debatable, however, and cannot really alter my judgment that this is an excellent collection of scholarly essays whose worth should be lasting.

University of Wisconsin

MICHAEL B. PETROVICH

ALEXANDER HERZEN AND THE BIRTH OF RUSSIAN SOCIALISM,
1812-1855. By *Martin Malia*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 39.]
(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 486. \$10.00.)

So far there has not existed in English a careful analysis of the thought of the most characteristic Russian liberal of the middle of the nineteenth century—Alexander Herzen. The only good work in Western languages, the book by Raoul Labry which appeared in French in 1928, has now been superseded by the excellent study that Martin Malia devoted to the first forty-three years of Herzen's life and thought. The book is added proof, if proof be needed, that in recent years the United States has become the leading producer of studies not only of "Sovietology," but of Russian and Eastern European history.

Herzen was an aristocrat and a libertarian who together with his contemporaries Belinsky and Bakunin formulated the foundations of Russian democratic and revolutionary thought. In the stagnant and backward world of Nicholas I aspirations for the modernization of Russian life could be voiced only in abstract formulas, and this made Russian democracy extremist and utopian. From that viewpoint, which placed itself "outside the political possibilities offered by the real world," Herzen judged not only Russia but the European revolution and situation of the middle of the century. Malia subjects Herzen's often ambivalent and contradictory theories to a searching analysis, based on a very thoughtful perusal of all available sources and presented in a highly readable style. It is the story not only of Herzen but of the liberal gentry of his generation. As Malia writes, Herzen asserted "with absolute intransigence the ideal of man as an end in himself and of the free individual as the purpose for which society should exist."

The book ends with the death of Nicholas I, a break in Russian history and in Herzen's life. He lived on for fifteen years. During that time Russian radical-

ism and Herzen changed. Herzen became sufficiently Westernized to understand the need and value of moderation and of gradual change. This moderation estranged him from the youth as did his opposition to Russian chauvinism concerning the Poles and Ukrainians. In many ways this lonely man, whose fame among Russian radicals rapidly waned, not only on account of his gentry origin, was a more significant though a far less representative figure. Many readers of Malia's book will eagerly await its continuation.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

NARODNOE BOGATSTVO I NARODNOKHOZIAISTVENNOE NAKO-
PLENIE PREDREVOLIUTIONNOI ROSSII (STATISTICHESKOE IS-
SLEDOVANIE) [National Wealth and Accumulation in the National
Economy of Prerevolutionary Russia (Statistical Research)]. By *Albert L.
Weinstein*. Foreword by *S. G. Strumilin*. (Moscow: State Statistical Press,
Central Statistical Administration USSR. 1960. Pp. 482. 17 rubles, 75 kopecks.)

ALBERT Weinstein's statistical examination of Imperial Russia is an attempt to make a comprehensive inventory of the national wealth as of January 1, 1914. The monograph goes further than any previous foreign estimates, or any Russian research on the subject. Weinstein has been at work on the data off and on since 1925, when the subject began to arouse discussion in the USSR Commissariat of Finance, Gosplan, and other central economic agencies.

The author treats the subject in three parts. The first is a lengthy (about one-third of the book) analysis of the concepts and methods of measurement of national wealth, both Russian and non-Russian. Weinstein discusses in detail the various indexes used in his own and in others' methods, and acknowledges the extent of his reliance upon data drawn from fire insurance records. The second part contains the heart of the statistical research and gives sources and results by category: agriculture, transport (rail, water, and road), communications, urban enterprise and utilities, military equipment, industry, religious establishments, state uninsured and nonproductive property (prisons and so on), urban structures, gold stocks and coin, and personal property. The third part is general summary, based on the specific data of the second part; the national wealth in 1913 is shown for the boundaries of 1914, and also for the boundaries of the USSR prior to 1939.

The book provides an indispensable base—the accumulation of social capital in Russia through the year 1913, with some indication of the rate, 1911–1913—for comparison or projection. Weinstein uses the term “national wealth” to describe goods in being as a result of past labor, regardless of ownership, whether private or social. In his foreword, S. G. Strumilin very pointedly calls attention to the fact that Weinstein is not studying “public wealth” nor economic potential, subjects of considerable interest for purposes of comparison with later development under

the Soviet regime. In fact Weinstein avoids entirely the question of comparison with other countries, or the relative efficiency of socialist vs. capitalist accumulation of "national" or "public" wealth, although Strumilin makes some suggestions for comparison with the United States. But the basic material is here for those who do wish to engage in polemics. All scholars cannot but welcome, as even Strumilin admits, the publication of this valuable and exhaustive survey of the estate of the last tsar on the eve of the war that desolated it.

Oregon State University

GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

THE REAL NATIONAL INCOME OF SOVIET RUSSIA SINCE 1928. By
Abram Bergson. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961. Pp. xix,
472. \$8.75.)

THIS elephant of a book has had a long period of gestation, but should enjoy longevity in proportion. It draws on and reduces to some order the extensive research performed by Professor Bergson and numerous colleagues under the auspices of the RAND Corporation concerning the growth of Soviet output. The concern is to find some reliable quantitative perspective on the results of the obsessive drive for industrialization that has dominated Soviet history during the past thirty-odd years.

Measuring the growth of Soviet output turns out to be a complicated task, especially because of the "index number problem." The various components of total output have grown at widely varying rates, and in the process the price structure or system of "scarcity relationships" that the statistician must employ as weights in aggregating these diverse trends into an over-all measure of growth has also changed radically. A large part of the book is devoted to illuminating some of the associated issues in the theory of growth measurement, and in the statistical evidence presented, the changes are generally rung on the complete set of index number variations that merit consideration. This will make the book rather tough going for those who are not economists. The issues must be appreciated if one is to make the measurement of growth at all meaningful, however, and reading this book is the way to learn to appreciate them.

Bergson's approach is aimed more at revealing the complexity of the growth issue and the possibility of alternative interpretations than at generating unequivocal conclusions. However the following are his findings on some major issues. In terms of the measure he considers most reliable, Soviet growth was higher during 1928 to 1955 than was ours at a comparable period of economic development and during the period 1928-1955, about twice as high. Soviet growth has not slowed appreciably in the postwar period. Consumption per capita grew scarcely at all between 1928 and 1950, but has since been rising at a rapid rate. This sacrifice of consumption to provide resources for industrialization, moreover, was borne by urban workers as well as by peasants. There is

little evidence to suggest a future decline in the Soviet rate of growth. The Soviet Union has reached a level of output where it can provide whatever increments in consumption are needed to sustain morale and political stability and still allot enough resources to investment to keep output per capita rising at rates characteristic of the recent past.

In addition to methodological contributions and the summary measures of growth, the book also contains much valuable material (some in appendixes) on the meaning of Soviet statistics and on institutional arrangements, and detailed data on individual components of GNP. It is thus a useful handbook of economic data that can be used for many purposes other than building up the output series Bergson is interested in. Within the limits of the data now available to us, this book constitutes the most complete and careful study of the growth of Soviet income that is likely to be made, and even if the Russians should open up their statistics to Western inspection, many methodological parts would remain vital, and it is inconceivable that even the quantitative conclusions would be much altered.

Indiana University

ROBERT W. CAMPBELL

SOVIET INDUSTRIALIZATION, 1928-1952. By *Naum Jasny*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xviii, 467. \$10.00.)

NAUM Jasny's history of the Soviet economy between 1928 and 1952 is a monumental work. Its terminal dates are chosen so as to make it a history of industrialization in the Stalin era. When one considers that the book was written by a man in his seventies, who had neither clerical aid nor graduate assistants, both its vigor and its breadth of scholarship are quite astonishing.

Jasny is concerned primarily with presenting a statistical account of the economic developments of the period. He is interested in rates of growth of investment, changes in farm production, shifts in living standards, and the like. Throughout, he pays major attention to the relationship between actual events and the forecast of them in the relevant five-year plan. What is particularly valuable is Jasny's concern with year-to-year developments, as contrasted with the treatment of only those individual years for which data are relatively good in such a rival study as Abram Bergson's *The Real National Income of Soviet Russia Since 1928*. But, of course, Jasny pays a price in unreliability of statistics and even as to trends in payment for his gains in coverage.

Jasny views the Stalinist industrialization as an unremarkable economic feat. Given the depression of living standards, which made available huge volumes of resources for investment, the reader gains the impression that only unusual awkwardness on the part of Stalin—combined with his insistence upon political objectives inconsistent with rapid growth—prevented the achievement of more rapid industrial progress. Soviet industrialization is described by Jasny simply as the

product of an inefficient process of stripping resources from the production of consumers' goods and using them instead in the output of capital goods.

Jasny's disrespect for the Soviet accomplishment is partly a product of his convincing demonstration that the five-year plans did not provide any genuine and successful guidance for the Soviet economy. (Jasny is led by this to an interesting periodization of the 1928-1952 period which cuts across individual five-year plans and is based on homogeneity of rates of growth in national income within periods.) Partly it is a product of what appears to be his rather curious view that the only proper path of development for a country is one in which all sectors of the economy grow at the same rate in all periods, and in which there is no serious fluctuation in the proportion of national income going to different end uses.

A major weakness of the work is Jasny's failure to present alternative statistics. The great sensitivity to index number problems of Soviet data regarding production, consumption, and so forth is well established. But Jasny ignores the issue of whether different trends would result from indexes employing different weights. His use of single sets of figures, rather than multigroupings, places his work within the pre-1950's tradition and often makes his study highly misleading for the nonspecialist.

Jasny's book will be quite useful to the specialist in Soviet economics, who can use it with discretion and who is concerned with details. Its usefulness for the nonspecialist is more dubious. In view of this, it seems most unfortunate that the author or his publisher decided to eliminate four key appendix notes.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID GRANICK

Near East

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN TURKEY. By *Bernard Lewis*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. 511. \$7.70.)

The Emergence of Modern Turkey is an authoritative contribution by a distinguished English historian, which fills a long-existing need for an interpretive study of developments in Turkey during the last two centuries.

The introductory chapter of this definitive work is a useful survey of the sources of Turkish civilization. Lewis discusses the origins of the Turks and distinguishes three main streams of influence that have made modern Turkey: the Islamic, the Turkish, and to a lesser extent other traditions and cultures. The book is divided into two parts following the introductory chapter. The first, entitled "Stages of Emergence," consists of Chapters II-IX and is a historical treatment. This section includes excellent discussions on the causes for the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the impact of the West, the Ottoman reform

movements, the still unresolved struggle between the modernists and traditionalists, and the developments during the period of the republic to 1950. While every chapter is outstanding, Chapter vii, "Union and Progress," is the best brief treatment of the Young Turk movement and the 1908 Revolution that I have seen. The problems facing the Turkish Republic and the achievements of the new Turkey from 1923 to 1950 are discussed masterfully in the chapters dealing with the Kemalist Republic and the republic after Kemal (Ataturk).

Part II, consisting of Chapters x through xiv and titled "Aspects of Change," is a cultural-anthropological treatment of Turkish society in which four aspects of change are analyzed. Lewis first discusses the transformation of the corporate sense of identity and loyalty from Islam and Ottomanism to Turkish nationalism under the title "Country and Nation." Until the second half of the nineteenth century the Turks thought of themselves as Moslems. Though the idea of nationalism came late, it became a dynamic and constructive force. A chapter on "State and Government" presents the theory and practice of government, a subject on which little has been written. A chapter on "Religion and Culture," dealing with Islam and with Kemalist secularism, will interest observers of current Turkish affairs. The economic and social order is discussed under the heading of "The Elite and Class" and contains important data and observations not found easily elsewhere. Lewis' sound knowledge of Islamic institutions is reflected throughout the book, and his incisive comments on Turkish Islam may be especially useful to a Middle East area specialist.

The concluding chapter analyzes the nature of the Turkish Revolution and measures its accomplishments. Despite awareness of the grave difficulties facing Turkish democratic development, Lewis is optimistic. His belief is based on the personal quality shown by the Turks throughout history—"a quality of calm self-reliance, of responsibility, and above all of civic courage."

American University

KERIM K. KEY

Asia and the East

THE EARLIEST MODERN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS IN CHINA. By
Knight Biggerstaff. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1961. Pp. xi,
276. \$5.00.)

LATE imperial China's response to the political, economic, and intellectual impact of the West in the century following the Opium War has proved to be one of the most fruitful fields in recent American research on modern Chinese history. Professor Biggerstaff's fine monograph on the modern government schools established in China prior to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 pushes forward the study of a critical aspect of that response: the beginning of the process whereby Western ideas gradually but relentlessly dissolved and then in large part replaced

the Neo-Confucian orthodoxy that for centuries had been the only corpus of learning available to the Chinese intelligentsia. Together with the often unintended dissemination of Western secular culture and ideas by the omnipresent Protestant missionaries, it is to the new schools founded in the second half of the nineteenth century, and increasingly in the twentieth, that the roots of the great intellectual transformation from Ch'ing China to Communist China can be traced. While this book is an institutional and not an intellectual history, its careful tracing of the development of the earliest modern government schools provides an essential framework for the analysis of the intellectual changes to which they contributed.

The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China begins with a long essay surveying the attempts to inaugurate new schools teaching Western subjects during the years 1861-1894 and the obstacles that they encountered. It then examines in detail the history of the three most important schools established by Chinese government agencies: the T'ung-wen Kuan at Peking, the Kiangnan Arsenal School and translation department at Shanghai, and the Foochow Navy Yard School. In each case the organization, curriculum, faculty, and student body are carefully described and analyzed, drawing on a wide range of Chinese- and Western-language source materials. The reader will be struck over and over again by the fact that, whatever the moderate success of these institutions, one key problem was never solved—that of finding suitable employment in traditional Chinese society for their graduates who were trained in Western languages or Western science. Even the small supply exceeded the demand. This continued to be a problem into the twentieth century and may well in the long run have contributed to the ferocity with which the new Western-educated youth rejected first their Confucian past and then the Kuomintang.

University of Michigan

ALBERT FEUERWERKER

HISTORIANS OF SOUTH EAST ASIA. Edited by *D. G. E. Hall*. [School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Historical Writing on the Peoples of Asia, Volume II.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 342. \$8.00.)

THE twenty-five authors who contribute the several chapters of this informative survey of Southeast Asian historiography, the second volume in a series planned to cover all of Asia, deal not only with the writings of Western historians, Portuguese, Spanish, British, Dutch, French, and American, but also in a limited way with historical writings available in indigenous languages. Important items in the latter category include a fairly complete evaluation of the royal chronicles of Burma, and what Berg aptly describes as the verbal magic of traditional Javanese historical writings, which were concerned mainly with providing a basis for ritual observances in support of royal authority. Indigenous

histories generally included fanciful genealogies plus local adaptations of ancient hero tales, legends, and myths. Because of such diverting political and literary preoccupations and the fragmentary character of indigenous records, a connected narrative of the pre-European period can be achieved only by piecing together epigraphic data, archaeological findings, and references found in Chinese sources. This survey does not include comment on the historical writings of Cambodia and Siam, nor any description of the important kinds of information touching Southeast Asian history available in Chinese records.

Professor Hall points out in his thoughtful introduction that most of the collation of source materials, the development of methodology, and the preparation of descriptive synthesis have been the work of Western scholars. The sixteen chapters devoted to the writings of Western historians vary greatly in length, approach, and depth. Several are scarcely worth including. Critical evaluations are presented of standard works by Krom, Crawford, Bayfield, Raffles, Phayre, and Yule, all of whom were handicapped by the lack of professional historical training. The most perceptive national surveys, in my opinion, are De Casparis' solid discussion of twentieth-century Dutch writings on Indonesia, Macgregor's excellent evaluation of the Portuguese historians, and Boxer's refreshing comments on Spanish writings relating to the Philippines. Jean Chesneaux takes French scholars to task for their procolonial assumptions and their general lack of concern for the social and cultural effects of Western control. The rejoinder entered by Mallert undertakes to defend French scholarship from the allegedly Marxist criticisms of Chesneaux, but fails to devote enough space for English readers to the works of outstanding French historians, Cordier, Launay, Maybon, Pelliot, Maspero, and younger scholars like Groslier and Dupont. Lennox Mills's evaluation of American contributions tends to apply the Europe-oriented criterion of whether or not the authors reflect an anticolonial bias. Mills is blind to the Anglophile bias of John Christian's *Modern Burma*, for example.

The final chapter by A. W. Macdonald properly underscores the enormous difficulties facing historical researchers working in such a heterogeneous area involving disparate culture patterns, languages, and varieties of source materials. His discouraging, if realistic, conclusion is that no single scholar can possibly span the entire field, although admittedly some effort at synthesis must be made. As a pioneering effort in a new and rapidly expanding field of historiography, this collection of essays makes a notable contribution.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

AŚOKA AND THE DECLINE OF THE MAURYAS. By *Romila Thapar*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 283. \$7.20.)

For the past half century the reign of Aśoka Maurya (269–232 B.C.) has been a subject of numerous detailed studies commenting upon aspects of his life,

thoughts, and achievements. His aversion to war, espousal of morality as an instrument of state policy, patronage of Buddhism, humanitarian works, and philosophy of life make him the most outstanding ruler in the long history of India. His Rock and Pillar Edicts, though comprehensively edited and extensively discussed, are a tempting source for ever-new evaluations and interpretations. Romila Thapar's work is the latest such attempt.

The work is in seven chapters of which the first five describe the early life, accession, social and economic policies, and the policy of *Dhamma*, followed by Aśoka. The sixth chapter is an extensive note on the later Mauryas, and the last presents a discussion on the causes leading to the decline of the Maurya Empire. There are six appendixes dealing with various aspects of related topics like the date of the *Arthaśāstra*, Mauryan pottery, coins, and art, and the translations of Aśokan edicts.

As a summary of work done so far on the subject, the book makes interesting reading. Of special interest is the chapter on *Dhamma*, where it is argued that what Aśoka preached and implemented is not so much Buddhism as found in the Pali books as a grand social and political policy in part needed by the conditions of the Empire and largely initiated by Aśoka himself with his own striking interpretations of what he believed to be the Buddha's teachings. This has been argued before, and it is rather difficult to agree with the suggestion made at the outset that the work is a new interpretation of Aśoka's life and policies or that it offers any new evidence on the subject; even the attempt at emphasizing this or that aspect of the subject is not impressive. On the other hand the work leaves much to be desired in the way of definitive opinions well supported by evidence. And a distinct feeling arises, as one reads the book, that there is a lack of deep or comprehensive appreciation of the Sanskrit and Pali sources. This is especially true when the author treats the origins and development of Buddhism as a philosophy and religion. Chandragupta Maurya is described as a Vaisya because his name ends in *gupta* which is an instance of a farfetched conclusion based on flimsy evidence. It is argued that the idea of transmigration of souls was a new idea during the Aśokan times, which is surprising since it is generally held that the concept was already well known to the early Upanishads which preceded Aśoka by several centuries. It is stated that despite his enthusiasm for Buddhism, Aśoka did not forego the privilege of having numerous wives; one fails to understand the reasoning in this because it is not known that Buddhism insisted on strict monogamy among its royal adherents. The author fancifully surmises that Aśoka's eclecticism may possibly be due to Greek influence somewhere in the family tree. It is stated that the ideal of the *Chakravartin* (Universal Ruler) was post-Mauryan, and some four sentences later it is admitted that it was known much before that period. The author speaks of persecution of Buddhism before the time of Aśoka, but does not adduce any evidence whatsoever in support of this novel observation.

Points such as these considerably vitiate the value of the work as an authoritative restatement on Aśoka. It is obvious that considerable work has gone into the compilation of this book. With a more rigorous exercise of critical judgment involving a deeper appreciation of ancient Indian religions and their sources, the author could have filled a real need.

Wake Forest College

B. G. GOKHALE

HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA. Volume I. By *Tara Chand*. Foreword by *Humayun Kabir*. ([Delhi:] Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. 1961. Pp. xiii, 400. \$5.50.)

THIS work, commissioned by the Indian Historical Records Commission and published by the government for mass reading, is to be the first of three volumes. The jacket states that the "treatment is strictly objective and that praise and blame are awarded according to historical standards rather than national or racial prejudice." It is unfortunate that this semiofficial book falls far short of that noble purpose. India, which is proud of its maturity and objectivity, can only be ashamed of the result. Much blame and little praise are included. The general thesis seems to be that India, a rich and highly cultured civilization, had fallen under evil leaders and was conquered by a group which was even more evil.

The work is a collection of quotations from standard works belaboring the British. Its seeming objectivity is on the surface: the charges are made by Englishmen, not Indians. England has never lacked social critics, and full advantage is taken of them here. The result reads like a lawyer's brief. Consider the witnesses. Adam Smith testifies on the ethics of mercantilism, Edmund Burke and Philip Francis on the honesty of Warren Hastings, Lecky on the decadence of Hanoverian England, Lord Chesterfield on the intelligence of George I, Dupleix on the character of English civil servants, and Karl Marx on how the English "manufactured a famine."

The book is full of appeals to prejudice. We are told that "victory made Clive's countrymen insufferably arrogant, overbearing, and cruel," that "It accentuated ugly traits of character and instigated self-assertion among the members of the conquering race," and that "Pride and prejudice became marked traits of the English character." Statistics are avoided, but we are given the average monthly income of the native mistresses of English civil servants. Most pages carefully footnote charges by Englishmen against their countrymen, but no support is given for assertions that Moslems were converted to eating ham (but not Hindus to eating meat) and that the thumbs of textile workers were amputated to end competition.

At times charges break down in obvious contradictions. We learn that the Permanent Settlement "benefited the zemindar more than the government" and so ruined the common people, reduced "the great zemindars in Bengal to

distress and beggary,” and “produced a social class which ultimately destroyed the very power which had created it.” Yet this was done while “All avenues to fame, wealth, or power were closed to Indians. . . .”

The final pages are reserved for the ultimate in absurdity: that the Industrial Revolution began in 1760, and not before, because only then could the “Indian loot” provide the capital. A full list of obviously incorrect statements would fill twenty pages. In a library, the book belongs under propaganda, not history.

Fenn College

JOSEPH W. INK

Americas

THE QUEST FOR PARADISE: EUROPE AND THE AMERICAN MORAL IMAGINATION. By *Charles L. Sanford*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. Pp. x, 282. \$5.00.)

FROM the first few pages one knows that this book is the result of sustained thought by an unorthodox mind. Sanford's earlier work taught his readers to expect much from him, and in this volume he shows that the high expectations were justified. This exciting and original work should find its way onto the very small shelf of such works in American history.

Sanford's basic assumption is that “The Edenic myth . . . has been the most powerful and comprehensive organizing force in American culture.” His method is a historical, literary, and psychological analysis of this myth of eternal return in a Western and then in an American context. Moving comfortably and with great insight through both the Renaissance and the Reformation, he shows the mythological ligaments that tied the New World to the Old. He shows the centrality of millennialism in colonial America, and the results of practical implementation of millennial thinking. The mind's life in colonial America was dedicated to the proposition that God's kingdom could be built on earth—American earth. The reverberations of this view sounded all through the nineteenth century, with one result being a growing disillusion that was a consequence of the enormity of the illusion. American cults of newness, rebirth, virtue, the sublime, industrial capitalism, and reform are usefully placed in the setting of the ideas of the West and of eternal return.

The author's commitment to the idea that there is a close relationship between almost all phases of life leads him to have a chapter on Henry James followed by one on twentieth-century diplomacy. His organic view of the historical process makes good sense of the juxtaposition of two such chapters: “Henry James was the literary prophet of America's painful appointment with destiny at Versailles and Yalta.” James, along with Steffens and Croly, began to educate Americans away from Edenic thinking, and, Sanford tempts me to say, away from America as it had always been. That education began, but with insufficient power success-

fully to counteract centuries of mythmaking: "The American moral imagination as a whole has tended to be out of touch with the realities of the twentieth-century world." It is, Sanford argues, the Edenic cast of the American mind that has kept America "out of touch with a revolutionary world situation." America, he says, needs to learn about the limits of life, needs more fully to exploit its own tragic past, before it can perform the quite essential surgery on its national mythology.

Sanford's scholarship may raise some eyebrows. His argument sometimes seems strained. But this is a work that attempts to organize vast stretches of territory and usually succeeds brilliantly. *The Quest for Paradise* is an iridescent book, a pleasure to read.

Wesleyan University

LOREN BARITZ

A GUIDE TO MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO AMERICA IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Edited by *B. R. Crick* and *Miriam Alman*, under the general supervision of *H. L. Beales*. (New York: Oxford University Press for the British Association for American Studies. 1961. Pp. xxxvi, 667. \$13.45.)

THIS volume is a result of the rapid expansion since the Second World War of teaching and research in the fields of American history and literature at the British universities, and also of a realization that the many American scholars interested in Anglo-American relations would benefit by having an up-to-date survey of the available manuscripts. The comprehensive task involved was accomplished within a period of two years, but only with the help of many scholars, librarians, and archivists thoroughly acquainted with local depositories of important papers. Their assistance is generously acknowledged, as is the part of the British Association for American Studies, which launched the project, and the United States Information Service in Great Britain, whose generous grant made the enterprise possible.

It is not the objective of this new *Guide* to duplicate either the Charles M. Andrews and Frances G. Davenport *Guide to the Manuscript Materials . . .* (1908), or the two-volume Andrews *Guide* (1912-1914) to pertinent papers in the Public Record Office, or the Charles O. Paullin and Frederick L. Paxon *Guide to . . . the London Archives . . . since 1783* (1914). Only new accessions to these archives have been noted, with the exception of the Custom House Papers, here completely reannotated by the librarian of HM Customs. This supplementation of the older *Guides*, to comprehend the large bodies of manuscripts acquired during the past half century, is important for the student to bear in mind. The revision was especially needed for the immense holdings of the Public Record Office, which, however, the new *Guide* admits could be given only superficial treatment.

Whether in public, private, or commercial hands, the location of other materials

cited is given alphabetically by the county or shire in England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the republic of Ireland, respectively. Wherever possible, collections of papers relating to economic, social, diplomatic, and political history are noted. The editors themselves, however, warn the reader that it was not possible to list all holdings having a bearing on American history and literature. This is not surprising in view of the dispatch with which the *Guide* was prepared and the vastness of the holdings. Yet, this is an excellent piece of work, and its excellence will be improved as additions and corrections are included in future editions, a project envisioned by the editors. Not the least of its merits is the effort made to note what change of location of papers has taken place. Thus, for example, the 185 volumes of the dukes of Leeds papers (including those of the fourth Earl of Holderness listed in the *Historical Manuscript Commission Report* as resting in Hornby Castle) are now in the British Museum, the reader is informed, but, until they have been properly processed, there will be difficulty in consulting them.

A final word of praise must be accorded to the very complete index, which adds greatly to the service this book renders.

Lehigh University

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

THE CONTOURS OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By *William Appleman Williams*. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1961. Pp. 513. \$7.50.)

THIS book undertakes an interpretation of American culture—economic, political, social, intellectual—through the stages of mercantilism, laissez faire, and corporation capitalism. The author concludes that expansion of the physical frontier is a mean escape from our obligations and opportunities. Of course that goal is no longer “Pike’s Peak or Bust,” but rather world penetration. We may still occupy more space, but hopefully, before final limits are reached, we shall begin to transform institutions. According to Professor Williams, “Americans . . . have the chance to create the first truly democratic socialism in the world. That opportunity is the only real frontier available to Americans in the second half of the 20th century. If they . . . acted upon the . . . intelligence and morality and courage that it would take to explore and develop that frontier, then they would finally have broken the chains of their own past. Otherwise, they would ultimately fall victims of a nostalgia for their childhood.” Our next pioneering must be in creating a humane community at home and abroad. The new frontier is moral.

The historian documents this dream. His abundant references to manifestations past and present command respect for his thesis. Nowadays it is difficult to combine history and hope. Especially in the closing pages, where the author draws together portentous tendencies, is his preachment persuasive.

This by way of cordial admiration and agreement. The earlier portion of the story leaves me with questions, however. Synthesis requires compression, and it is easy to quarrel with the meaning where a statement must be summary. I make a

further allowance. Williams, so the biographical note indicates, is forty years old. Maybe it is good to forsake monographic treatment and venture upon broad delineation before one is ancient and has forgotten the particulars that illustrate his doctrine. At what stage in a scholarly career does one turn philosopher? My notion is that, for all his praiseworthy findings at the end, our author along the way has relied too much on secondary accounts instead of delving into sources. If one is to pronounce, he must first be profound. Before one speaks of Madison, Jefferson, Monroe, and more of their circle as mercantilists, a deal of spadework is in order. But these pages give evidence of the method of "once over lightly." Thus when (January 1794) Madison in the House defended Jefferson's report on commercial discriminations, "Hamilton answered through Representative William Smith of Maryland, who often gave the speeches that Hamilton prepared." Here our author has the wrong man with the wrong politics, and from the wrong state. Hamilton did have help from Marylanders—Charles Carroll of Carrollton and James McHenry notably, but not from Samuel Smith, who was then in the Congress. Has Williams forgotten the South Carolina Federalists, the capable William Loughton Smith not least among them? This kind of slip impresses the advantage of first-hand acquaintance with the debates. So many novel constructions—I will not say misconstructions—appear that a second look at the worrisome detail is recommended before bold generalizations are set down. Some tolerable students, to the end of their days, have refrained from the mural in favor of the miniature. One is not sure that the smaller picture is the less revealing for its exactitude.

University of Puerto Rico

BROADUS MITCHELL

MAKING AN INTER-AMERICAN MIND. By *Harry Bernstein*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1961. Pp. vi, 190. \$5.50.)

DESPITE the different wording of its title, this book is a sequel to the author's *Origins of Inter-American Interest, 1700-1812* (1945). Both books deal mainly with the development in the United States of intellectual interest in Latin America, and both focus on the expressions of that interest produced by Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. The present work carries the account to the close of the nineteenth century. After an opening chapter that links it to the earlier volume, the book deals successively with the book trade, geography and geology, ethnology and archaeology, and historical writing.

Bernstein has brought to light much new information on many aspects of this complex theme. Without neglecting individuals, such as the geologist-ethnographer Charles Hartt and the historian Buckingham Smith, he lays heavy stress on organizations. The latter group includes both those of a learned character, such as the American Philosophical Society and the Smithsonian Institution, and publishing firms such as Carey and Lea (Philadelphia) and D. Appleton and Company (New York). One of his best-constructed chapters deals with the Spanish-language book

trade to Middle and South America. It shows how this flourished first in Philadelphia and Boston and later in New York and how it declined toward the close of the nineteenth century with the shift from political to economic liberalism in Latin America and the rise of literary "Yankeephobia" in that area. The same chapter makes the interesting point that, contrary to a belief still widely held, "North American" interest in Latin America and Spain was not first created by Prescott, Irving, Longfellow, and Ticknor, for they had been anticipated by "dozens of authors" of lesser fame. Even children's books of this kind were commonplace, including biographies of Columbus, Pizarro, Cortés, and Bolívar, not to mention a *Primary History of Mexico and South America* and *Wonders of South America*, both from the prolific pen of Peter Parley.

And yet, while Bernstein does not probe the thorny problem of the impact of all these inter-American cultural developments on the general public in the United States, he believes that its impact was "light." What is more, he holds that this limited effect was further reduced toward the close of the century as "cultural-mindedness lost ground [in the United States] to . . . diplomatic, economic, strategic, territorial, and expansionist objectives." These and other propositions, such as those relating to the *leyenda negra*, manifest destiny, and the triangle Latin America-Iberia-United States, call for further study. Nevertheless, Bernstein has given us another ground-breaking work which is even more stimulating than his first on this theme, and his bibliographical citations, though not extensive, will help to forward the inquiry.

University of Pennsylvania

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

PREHISTORIC MAN ON THE GREAT PLAINS. By *Waldo R. Wedel*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961. Pp. xviii, 355. \$5.95.)

HISTORIANS are interested in documentary evidence. But based on written documents alone, the history of the Indians on the Great Plains as well as elsewhere began in the middle of their history. The first contacts of white men with the Indians of the Great Plains were in 1541. The goal of archaeology being the extension of history backward in time, archaeologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, and ethnohistorians have, during the past thirty and more years, greatly increased our knowledge of the Indians.

Waldo R. Wedel, an archaeologist and ethnologist of outstanding merit, well acquainted with the wealth of written literature as well as work in the field, has summarized in nontechnical language the work of the archaeologist, anthropologist, and ethnologist on the Indians of the Great Plains. His own work plays no small part in his general story. Wedel has performed his task well. He has fulfilled the objectives he set out to accomplish, namely, to review the human prehistory of the North American Great Plains, the semiarid grassland lying west of the Mississippi-Missouri Valley (to the Rocky Mountains and from the Gulf of

Mexico into Canada) as revealed by archaeological research, and to write this story for the general reader as well as the professional archaeologist and historian. After describing the tools, methods, and terminology used by the archaeologist and defining and describing the area, Wedel then describes and discusses the prehistory of man in the various subareas encompassed in the Great Plains. In general his span of time is the period to about 1800. Numerous footnotes and a full bibliography round out this most welcome volume. The work has been greatly enhanced by the wealth of illustrative materials in the form of plates, figures, and illustrations and by a good index.

San Diego State College

A. P. NASATIR

THE FUR TRADE. In two volumes. By *Paul Chrisler Phillips*. With concluding chapters by *J. W. Smurr*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1961. Pp. xxvi, 686; viii, 696. \$16.50 the set.)

THIS work is useful but by no means a brilliant or definitive account of North America's earliest major industry. In two stout volumes the author has given a running narrative of explorers, traders, and trading companies in Canada and the United States in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. Clearly, for such a span of years details must be minimized, and they are.

It is an uneven work. Phillips has depended largely on accounts and documents already published, or on copies of manuscripts chosen and reproduced by other scholars. To be sure, he did make one trip to Europe and visited various depositories, but this appears to have been a hurried and superficial search. One statement is mystifying. Relative to the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, the author says: "A letter from the company, some years before, had stated that the documents were available to 'qualified scholars.' Armed with credentials of scholarship, the author applied for admittance, but after several interviews was informed that the company was planning to publish its important records and no other publication could be permitted." Surely, publication of documents and their mere use and citation are two entirely different procedures. The Hudson's Bay Company has usually been most helpful in permitting the use of its vast storehouse of documents, though verbatim publication of entire documents has been restricted to its own publications.

Those volumes seem to have made little impression on Phillips. Though he cites a few of them in his bibliography, he tells most of his story without their aid. *Instead, for the early period of the Company, he relies upon the unscholarly works of Agnes Laut, George Bryce, Warren Upham, and L. A. Prud'homme.* As a result, he has made many untenable statements, such as the one referring to Radisson as a Protestant!

Indeed, it is noticeable throughout the study that books published in recent years, say, since the late 1930's, are missing in both footnote and bibliographical

citations. Thus Arthur S. Morton's *History of the Canadian West to 1870*, J. B. Brebner's *Explorers of North America*, Nellis Crouse's several works, John Pritchett's *Red River Valley*, Winston Churchill's biography of his illustrious ancestor, the great Marlborough, and all the brilliant introductions to the many volumes of the Hudson's Bay Record Society are not to be found. It is rather amusing to note one single reference to a "John Churchill," but Marlborough's role as governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and patron of Radisson is ignored.

Had Phillips used the introductions to the Record Society's volumes instead of relying so heavily on Gordon Davidson's excellent but outdated history of the North West Company, or had he utilized Wallace's volume of documents relating to that Company, he would have improved his account of that significant member of the great triumvirate of the North American fur trade. Even so, it is a better appraisal than that of the Hudson's Bay Company or the American Fur Company.

In fact, after 1834 the American Fur Company in the Great Lakes region is almost completely ignored, as is the two-volume calendar of its papers in the New York Historical Society published by the American Historical Association in 1945. Death seems to have overtaken the author about the time he reached 1835 in his narrative, and so the fascinating story of the closing years of the fur trade era is definitely slighted.

There is no adequate discussion of the contribution of the *voyageurs* to the fur trade, nor of the canoe, the York boat, and the various items of trade goods. The antiquated system of annotation by means of *ibid.* and *loc. cit.* makes it impossible to run down references to most works that are cited several times. I went through several hundred pages unsuccessfully trying to determine which letter book of the American Fur Company was being quoted on a certain page. The index is only moderately good. Maps are mediocre and too few. The illustrations are beautiful, and the format of the books beyond reproach.

St. Paul, Minnesota

GRACE LEE NUTE

THE RIGHTS OF MAN IN AMERICA, 1606-1861. By *Gilman Ostrander*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 356. \$6.50.)

In the first sentence of his preface Mr. Ostrander puts his book in the tradition of John Bach McMaster. McMaster, he comments, "published three concise lectures on *The Acquisition of the Political, Social, and Industrial Rights of Man in America*. . . no historian since McMaster's time has written the history of American democracy itself, in the broad meaning of the word suggested by McMaster's title." Ostrander undertakes that task. He has given us what is primarily an institutional and social history—the transfer in the seventeenth century of English practices to the New World, the activities in the eighteenth century of leaders and of riotous mobs in bringing about the break with the imperial government, the fram-

ing of the Constitution in the same century, the continuation and evolution of colonial ways in the nineteenth century in the original states and in the newer states of the West, the humanitarian movement of the middle period, and the contemporaneous emergence of a "slaveocracy." The colony-by-colony and state-by-state survey of political practices involving rights and liberties is one of the most useful features of the book. If he could pick up the volume, McMaster would find the approach and the accumulation of detail familiar. It must be added also that any competent member of the guild will find familiar material. It is the stuff of which the best of our excellent mid-twentieth-century textbooks are made. Ostrander's contribution arises from his concentration on his chosen theme and from his emphasis on varying local practices as well as those of the national scene.

With the exception of the persons dealt with in the chapter on literary figures, Ostrander emphasizes what men did rather than what they thought. In fact he suggests that, all too frequently, they scarcely thought in any systematic way at all. The author seems to see American democracy, "the rights of man in America," as the pragmatic achievement of a people whose fortune had placed them in a favorable environment. The pattern of rights "did not come into being as the fulfillment of a political theory." American democracy, he affirms, developed no theory of its own. "The well-tempered theorists—John Adams and James Madison, John Marshall and Chancellor Kent—were all on the other side." Even considering Ostrander's somewhat special definition of democracy, the list is puzzling. John Adams' public arguments in the 1770's on the nature of the rights of Americans made him a logical member of the committee of the Continental Congress that drafted the Declaration of Independence, the great democratic manifesto of the eighteenth century. Congressman Madison wrote and introduced into the legislative branch those first amendments to the Constitution which became the Bill of Rights. They, together with the Declaration, have become the very essence of American democratic philosophy. John Marshall, like Andrew Jackson, vigorously furthered nationalism. Ostrander might well examine critically the late Harold Laski's affirmation that a close connection obtained in the first half of the nineteenth century in the United States between democracy and the rise of nationalism.

The author gives only minimal attention to debate or speculation about the nature of democracy. An illustration of his method (one in which he does deal with thought to a degree) may be found in a distinction he discovers between Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy. "For Locke and for Jefferson," says Ostrander, "the whole purpose of society was to secure the liberty of the individual. For Jackson this was not the case. The individual already was sufficiently secure in his rights, protected by common law, by the first nine amendments to the Constitution, by the balance of powers within the Federal government, and by the balance of powers between Federal and state governments. These arrangements, devised by America's 'sages and patriots,' were accepted by Jackson as 'sacred.' At the same

time, all these arrangements together did not entitle the individual to flaunt the will of the majority." The author goes on to illustrate the practice of the Jacksonians by the sad case of Joseph Palmer of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, who insisted on wearing a beard when the majority was aggressively clean shaven. One can agree with Ostrander's thesis as to the pragmatic basis of American democratic practices, including the tyranny of the majority which jailed the unhappy Palmer. It "worked"—for a time. One regrets that the author did not choose to carry his discussion into the realm of ideas, in this case the relation of the power of the majority to democratic theory and to democratic rights. The question was discussed in Jackson's day. In one chapter the author departs from his normal method. He has given a helpful discussion of the relation between the theories of writers such as Cooper, Emerson, and Hawthorne and their political preferences and activities. The book is primarily useful for bringing together in one place information on democratic practices among Americans to 1861.

American University

RALPH H. GABRIEL

THE PAPERS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Volume I, 1768–1778; Volume II, 1779–1781. Edited by *Harold C. Syrett*. *Jacob E. Cooke*, Associate Editor. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. xvii, 627; xi, 710. \$12.50 each.)

No one reading this will doubt the prime importance of a comprehensive, scholarly edition of Hamilton's works, including all letters to him and documents (commissions, certificates, and the like) closely concerning him. This new set will run to twenty volumes and supersedes in all respects the older chief collections of John C. Hamilton (7 vols., 1850–1851) and H. C. Lodge (12 vols., 1904) which have long been out of print. The present edition will include Hamilton's legal papers, most of them never before printed, under the editorship of Professor Julius Goebel, Jr., of the Columbia University Law School. The presumption is that a total of some 25 per cent will now be added to Hamilton's published papers or will be made readily available for the first time. These first two volumes cover the years 1768–1781; the whole collection will number about seventeen thousand pieces.

This project has been cherished at Columbia (Hamilton was an alumnus of King's College) since 1938 when surveys were made; it was put in the way of accomplishment in 1955 with appropriation of funds by Time, Inc., the Rockefeller Foundation, and the university, and the release of Professors Syrett and Cooke from other duties to devote themselves, with a small staff, to this work. The editors have flung their net wide in America and Europe, collecting materials from places the discovery of which provokes admiration. Public and institutional libraries and archives were canvassed and readily responded with what they might have, but it was another matter to find private possessors of a few letters and, in some cases, to

persuade them that printing of their treasures would not destroy their value. The exhaustive search has been rewarding, especially in personal, frequently family, letters, and in Hamilton documents in the huge mass of Washington papers. Each new item brought to light adds more than the one before, for it helps to complete the picture in some area.

The documents are presented exactly as in the originals except for a few typographical modifications which all would agree help to make the author's meaning clearer. The papers are fully annotated, with all persons, places, and events, if obscure, identified. Often this has involved sketching in the background of a correspondence or an incident, with references to other materials here printed which offer further explanation. The advantage of doing the editorial work in New York is repeatedly apparent, for so many of the allusions required local resources for their comprehension. Perhaps Hamilton, second only to Washington, is thought of as belonging to the whole United States, but in domestic, professional, friendly, and many political ties he was a New Yorker.

The complete, judicious apparatus of these volumes is matched by their excellent physical form. The paper is durable, the type plain and pleasing, the binding workmanlike. Each volume has its own detailed index. The books are easy to use because the arrangement of items, departing from topical grouping in previous editions, is chronological. The years embraced are indicated on the spine of each volume, and applicable dates appear at the top of the pages. This organization of the materials is in every way desirable, for it reveals the development of Hamilton's ideas and activities, and the reader of a particular piece is glad to know what the author was thinking and doing and what letters he was receiving about that time. Well-chosen illustrations (maps, portraits, facsimiles) are pleasant features.

Letters that Hamilton wrote for Washington during the four years that he served as aide-de-camp to the commander in chief have been calendared, with brief note of their contents, but not reproduced in full. Generally this is sufficient, for the texts are available in Washington's published writings, and the contributions of the two men defy disentanglement. In some instances Hamilton's part was major, in inspiration as well as execution, and in conspicuous cases, where identification by one means or another is fairly certain, Hamilton's authorship might have been credited with corresponding full printing. We know much, from Washington's own specification of what was desirable in an aide, and from other sources, for example, Harrison and Pickering, how the general worked with Hamilton. A word to the wise was his rule with such a remarkable helper, so that Hamilton's service became a true collaboration.

This comprehensive edition of Hamilton's papers will join similar definitive publications of the works of the Adamses, Madison, Jefferson, Franklin, and others now in progress. They concentrate scattered archives and permit the student to accomplish long journeys without leaving his own chair. By these means we can reasonably be more demanding than ever of those who would interpret our

American past. Different glances at the materials will always be invited, but an amount that was guesswork before will now be at hand for the having. Not that the most exhaustive and precise publication will banish the lure of the original manuscripts, which in countless ways speak their unique language.

The timeliness of this edition is manifest. Hamilton's choice of the central government as the main agency in promoting prosperity and security in America is receiving fresh illustration almost by the minute. Present emphasis on economic and political development for backward, often brand new nations may induce leaders in far places to consult the advice of Alexander Hamilton.

University of Puerto Rico

BROADUS MITCHELL

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES: ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT, AND FUNCTIONS. By *William Barnes* and *John Heath Morgan*. [Department of State Publication 7050; Department and Foreign Service Series 96.] (Washington, D. C.: Historical Office, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State. 1961. Pp. xiii, 430. \$3.50.)

THERE are two books that deal with the Foreign Service and its history, Tracy H. Lay, *The Foreign Service of the United States* (1925), and James R. Childs, *American Foreign Service* (1948). Both are now out of date, and there was need for a book that explained the complex changes in the Foreign Service since the end of the Second World War, one that would bring the history of the service up to date. This volume, written by two Foreign Service officers and issued as an official publication of the Department of State, partially fills that need.

The book, most of which is historical, begins with the usual description of the conduct of foreign affairs under the Continental Congress and of the first unofficial agents sent abroad by the Congress. From this point it continues with the origins and growth of the consular and diplomatic services, the development of the career principle in American diplomacy, the unification of consular and diplomatic personnel into a single Foreign Service, and the amalgamation of the service with foreign affairs officials of the Department of State. The historical narrative is followed by three final chapters describing the Foreign Service today, its structure and role in government, the conditions of service, and the opportunities it offers to those who seek a career in it.

Although the book contains footnotes and a selected bibliography of printed materials, it is not a scholarly monograph in the sense that it offers new material or a new interpretation of its subject; hence it would be unfair to judge it as such. Nonetheless, the historian should know that the treatment throughout is descriptive, that there is considerable reliance on diplomatic history textbooks, that most of the material covered is familiar to specialists in diplomatic history, that there is virtually no interpretation or analysis in depth, and that the narrative lacks continuity. Numerous subheadings, such as one might expect from a

government manual, make the reading choppy. The historian should realize, too, that at times the authors are uncritical. For instance, they seem unaware that Silas Deane betrayed his country, as revealed by Julian P. Boyd in articles in the *William and Mary Quarterly* two years ago, and that James Gallatin's *Diary* was a hoax exposed in the pages of this *Review* five years ago by Raymond Walters, Jr.

The book also has virtues. Its material is arranged logically; its prose is clear and free of jargon; and it is easy to use. Nineteen appendixes containing statistical tables, charts, and other data enhance its value. It is especially useful for various bits of information concerning the Foreign Service that may not be readily available elsewhere, for biographical sketches of diplomats and State Department officials of some stature, for a description of the establishment of politico-geographic divisions within the Department of State in 1909, for the impact of the Rogers Act of 1924 on the diplomatic service, and for the effect of the mixing of Foreign Service and State Department personnel since the Wriston Report's recommendations were put into effect in 1954. This latter part, on "Wristonization," is probably the most valuable for the historian, for it covers material not yet easily available elsewhere.

Most of the facts appear to be accurate, and the presentation is sound. As intended by its authors, therefore, this book should prove useful to students, to those in government service who desire basic data on its subject, and to those who may have in mind a career in the Foreign Service.

University of California, Santa Barbara

ALEXANDER DeCONDE

THE CONCEPT OF JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY: NEW YORK AS A TEST CASE. By *Lee Benson*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 351. \$6.00.)

WITH implications extending far beyond the Jacksonian era, this important book merits the attention of all political historians. For some time Mr. Benson has been exhorting us to look to the social sciences for illuminating concepts and for a greater precision of method. Now he presents an extended and fruitful application of his precepts.

The heart of the book is a systematic effort to determine the differentiating characteristics of the Democratic and Whig parties in New York State during the 1830's and 1840's. By a variety of ingenious methods drawn from the social sciences, Benson analyzes the social character of the two parties' leadership; their differing philosophies of political economy; the "images" they projected through their platforms; and the class, occupational, "ethnocultural," and religious characteristics of their electoral supporters.

Especially impressive is the elaborate correlation of voting results with social and economic characteristics at the town and county level. Social status and economic interest, Benson finds, were far less important in determining vot-

ing behavior than membership in ethnocultural groups ("Yankees," "Yorkers," "Catholic Irish," "New British," and so forth).

Yet Benson is too sophisticated to propose a simple-minded "ethnocultural interpretation" in place of a simple-minded "economic interpretation." Instead he moves far toward developing our first comprehensive, historically oriented theory of American voting behavior. Votes are determined, he argues with ample illustration, not only by "pursuit of political goals" (including economic goals), but also by "fulfillment of political roles" and "negative or positive orientation to reference groups or individuals." These determinants are then strongly modified at the community level by purely local and traditional influences.

While some parts of the analysis so far discussed are less convincing than others, I am sure that they all add up to a major break-through in our understanding of American political history. I am less certain that Benson's findings dictate, as he maintains in the other major segment of his book, an abandonment of the concept of Jacksonian Democracy.

Here he uses more conventional historical methods to argue that the egalitarian, antimonopoly impulse usually associated with the Jackson party actually arose in New York among groups that opposed Jackson, meeting resistance from the Van Buren-Albany Regency-Tammany-state bank "monopoly"-Jackson party. Moreover, he suggests, further investigation would probably show that in the country as a whole Jackson and the Jackson party were, if anything, negatively correlated with the egalitarian, antimonopoly impulse. Within the limits of this review I can only remark that Benson's interpretation does not seem to me the one most consistent with all the facts, including his own important findings for New York.

University of California, Berkeley

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR.

RECONSTRUCTION: AFTER THE CIVIL WAR. By *John Hope Franklin*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. x, 258. \$5.00.)

THERE is no period in the American past that has been treated in a more one-sided fashion than the era of Reconstruction. William A. Dunning set the pace, and ever since the appearance of his famous works on the subject, writer upon writer has striven to give us additional insights into the alleged horrors of "black" rule. The exaggerated story of suffering in the former Confederate States has become a national legend.

And yet, for almost thirty years, well-documented monographs and articles have cast doubt on the Dunning interpretation. Although individual phases of Reconstruction history have been revised, no dispassionate general account incorporating these findings has ever been published. It is only now that this need has been filled by the appearance of Professor Franklin's excellent book.

In 227 closely packed, well-written pages, the author completely demolishes the traditional picture. By emphasizing the shortcomings of presidential Reconstruction, he demonstrates clearly that the congressional measures that followed were the logical consequence of conservative intransigence. He presents conclusive evidence that Radical Reconstruction was neither overwhelmingly "black" nor wholly inept, but, on the contrary, a surprisingly brief and incomplete effort to secure some measure of justice for Negroes and whites alike. If there was wrongdoing—and he makes no attempt to hide the weaknesses of the Radical legislators—the corruption was nationwide, affecting conservatives as well as their opponents in all parts of the country. After dramatically stressing the unfair methods utilized by the old ruling elements to "redeem" the South, Franklin concludes with a compelling indictment of the failure to carry through wartime promises of racial justice.

In spite of the highly emotional nature of the controversies upon which he touches, the author exercises remarkable restraint. Expertly marshaling the conclusions of recent scholars, he presents his thesis without resort to special pleading. With well-founded arguments contradicting Thomas C. Cochran's contention that the Civil War did nothing to further industry, he treats economic conditions with the same competence as political and social developments. Some space is devoted to the emergence of the New South, and Franklin convincingly shows that the breakup of the plantations was not as thorough as has often been assumed. Because of space limitations, economic trends are not developed fully, but enough is said to present a well-rounded picture of the postwar South.

The author and his editors are to be congratulated for the appearance of this volume. They have produced a most significant work which no one interested in the field will be able to overlook.

Brooklyn College

H. L. TREFOUSSE

THE CATTLE KINGS. By *Lewis Atherton*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 308. \$6.95.)

DURING the last half century much has been published on the American ranching frontier and the men who created the cattle kingdom. General studies of the range and ranch cattle industry, with specific biographical and autobiographical works of the participants, provide a significant part of this literature. Many American scholars and reliable authors of western lore have, for the most part, admirably depicted this phase of western history and the lives and activities of those who contributed to it. These efforts, in the main, have proved to be vain in the face of the myth, legend, exaggeration, and romanticism of fictitious cowboys, badmen, and "super-marshals" who have dominated the scene from the day of the dime novel. It cannot be denied that these dramatizations have a place in

the story of the old West, but not at the expense of truth and of sacrificing the rightful position of the cattlemen—"the real principals of the story."

Professor Atherton, in thirteen thoughtful and provocative chapters, gives the cattle kings their due. He evaluates sympathetically and critically the ranchers' position as "rugged individualists, self-reliant, tolerant, enterprising, progressive, profane, and hard-drinking." They were pioneer entrepreneurs—young businessmen—who faced up to all the vicissitudes of that way of life, and, in addition, they "civilized the frontier." As significant as any other portion of this book is Chapter xii, "Cattlemen and Cowboy: Fact and Fancy," for herein is found one of the most penetrating evaluations of the man on horseback in relation to the man who put him there, the cattlemen, and the authors who deified him.

Cowboys became heroes of the ranching frontier because those who wrote about them created the myth of "nature's nobleman." In asking the artless and elementary question, "who is *the* great American cowboy?" Atherton answers with shattering clarity that "one must recognize that he [the cowboy] continues to be a composite of many men, a nameless hero in recognition of the fact that his deeds were not beyond the powers of virtually anyone willing to exert his energies. His feats were great but not miraculous, and Americans have been reluctant to endow him with a superhuman personality. As a hero of the American folk, he is truly all of them in one." In dominating the scene and overshadowing his employer through literary canonization, the cowboy has captured immortality, but only at the expense of the loss of his individuality.

The Cattle Kings is a lively but dignified presentation of the cattlemen's position in American history. Because of its virility, maturity, and depth, historians of the West, present and future, must take it into account. Conceivably, other aspects of western history might lead to such a searching analysis although certainly few offer such controversial material and protagonists.

University of Arkansas

CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER

JAMES FORD RHODES: THE MAN, THE HISTORIAN, AND HIS WORK. With a Complete Bibliography of the Writings of James Ford Rhodes. By *Robert Cruden*. (Cleveland, Ohio: Press of Western Reserve University. 1961. Pp. xiii, 290. \$6.00.)

DURING the Civil War William H. Trescot lamented that to the South's bitter cup would be added the distaste of having to read the history of that era written by northerners. His prophecy was fulfilled for many years thereafter. Not until James Ford Rhodes, though a northerner himself, published his volumes did southerners feel that partisanship had begun to wane.

Rhodes was not born to letters as were the Boston Brahmins in whose society he luxuriated. His cradle was the uncongenial industrial world of Cleveland in the post-Civil War years. Like Henry Adams and others of his generation,

Rhodes revolted against active involvement in business civilization, but he and they carefully watched their investments in it. Their *rentier* psychology made them hostile to labor's demands (which might diminish their profits) and to more successful capitalists (like J. P. Morgan or John D. Rockefeller) whose wealth they considered tainted.

To live the life of a "gentleman historian" was Rhodes's ambition; he realized it in full measure. He grew up when the influence of E. L. Godkin of *The Nation* pervaded academic halls and cloistered clubs. The gospel preached—a revenue tariff, hard money, "home rule" in the South, civil service reform, the priority of property rights in labor disputes, promotion of Anglo-American friendship—made "a timely and cogent sermon," said Rhodes, that Godkin "preached to us every week."

Rhodes subscribed to the sentiment that in writing history one must have "the ability to conceive the spirit of a time and to interpret it with candor." What Rhodes did in his history, however, was to read into the past the preconceptions of his own era, which defeated his attempt to capture the spirit of an earlier day. But most readers approved of his history through Reconstruction. His success, says Cruden, was largely owing to his identification with America's prosperous middle class whose interests, ideals, and morality "were his own." Against labor, southern Negroes, and Jews his bias was strong.

Contrary to the impression left by the biographer—that Rhodes had a large general audience—it would seem that his readers were among the influential "opinion makers" in the community. The sales of his books, however, did not rival those of earlier literary historians, in particular, George Bancroft. His influence has been long lasting, though obviously much less strong than it was a generation ago. Cruden missed an opportunity to compare in greater detail Rhodes's work with that of later students.

The biographer did not miss other opportunities. He has included interesting memoranda on the historian's conversations with Theodore Roosevelt as well as revealing correspondence exchanged with British admirers. A sound, critical spirit is displayed in appraising the historian's volumes, a task not seriously undertaken by M. A. DeWolfe Howe in his biography of Rhodes. Always self-conscious about his cultural limitations, Rhodes did satisfy a youthful ambition to write a good history, and a middle-aged aspiration to live among cultured gentlemen. When he could, he protected the reputations of the latter in his writings. His generation agreed with his own estimate of his achievement—that his life and his work were a success.

City College of New York

MICHAEL KRAUS

THE EMERGING SOUTH. By *Thomas D. Clark*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 317. \$6.00.)

IN this volume, Thomas D. Clark joins others such as Virginius Dabney, Wilbur Cash, Jonathan Daniels, and Clarence Cason, to mention only a few, who have sought to capture in print the significant characteristics and directions of the modern South. Clark's volume has the advantage of coming at a time when as he notes "much of the course of the South into the future is already charted, and that course gives every evidence of leading the region away from many of the old and familiar ways of the past."

Clark's volume is not a history of the South, and those who seek a thorough, well-organized account of the region's political, economic, social, and cultural developments since World War I will not find it here. Rather, Clark sets for himself an entirely different task. It is his conviction that the present South is the product of an economic and social revolution that began with the end of the crop year 1920 and that the dominant force in the region's history since then has been change. Utilizing an impressive number and variety of sources, Clark chronicles the story of change in many facets of southern life. The most important factor in promoting change has been an economic revolution embracing industrialization and attendant urbanization and an agrarian revolution that has greatly altered southern land use and transformed the rural cotton economy almost beyond recognition.

Clark's treatment of the agrarian South includes not only the migration of cotton westward and the resulting impact upon cotton culture in the Southeast, the rise of the livestock and poultry industries, and the mechanization of agriculture, but also the many improvements in the life and well-being of rural folk. Although much of what has happened and is happening in the contemporary South stems from industrialization, *The Emerging South* contains only a cursory account of this vast subject. Other chapters tell the story of the good roads movement, the rise of the tourist industry, the educational crusade, and the changing role of the Negro. Regrettably, politics, a subject of unending interest to southerners in the Old and New South, receives only incidental treatment as it relates to various economic and social issues.

The several chapters devoted to the Negro's role and stature in the South, in my opinion, are the most interesting and valuable parts of the book. The impact of the Supreme Court decision of May 1954 receives thorough and thoughtful consideration. And it is in this area that Clark makes his most significant contribution to an understanding of the contemporary South. He describes the activities of the NAACP as well as those of the citizens councils and other die-hard segregationists, but he makes clear his own position as an informed, thoughtful, southern moderate. Clark recognizes that as the South changes, it is leaving behind many old and familiar ways and becoming a less distinctive region. Indeed, it might almost be said that as the contemporary South enters the main stream of American life, it is fast becoming the "disappearing South." Perhaps, forward-looking southern moderates find this notion almost as displeasing as do die-hard

sentimentalists, but this may well be the most fundamental lesson learned from *The Emerging South*.

University of North Carolina

J. CARLYLE SITTERSON

THE LA GUARDIA YEARS, MACHINE AND REFORM POLITICS IN NEW YORK CITY. By *Charles Garrett*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 423. \$8.50.)

TODAY, when the American metropolis avoids both the classical corruption of Tammany and the excitement of La Guardia reform in a muddy mediocrity, it is good to be reminded of earlier, clearer days. Charles Garrett's book is a needed one, a finely wrought study of New York City politics before, during, and after La Guardia's twelve years as mayor (1933-1945). He finds a dual tradition in American municipal history, machine rule and reform, and begins his book with two succinct chapters analyzing these twined threads as they developed in the city of New York. In a perceptive analysis of Tammany's birth and operations for over a century, he points to its often-ignored role "as a means by which the men who have been part of the machine, their associates and friends, have attempted to achieve the great American goal of individual success."

Although the chapter giving the background of New York City reform is too cluttered, Garrett goes on to recount skillfully the Seabury investigations of 1930-1932 which destroyed the popular regime of Mayor Jimmy Walker. He gives us also the intriguing details of how the Fusion movement in 1933 searched everywhere for a candidate before assenting to the man who had been waving his arms wildly before their eyes, Fiorello La Guardia.

Garrett's estimate of La Guardia is well balanced, with perhaps too much of the current professional delight in accounting for the reformist drive by such psychological factors as egotism and a hunger for power based on "a deep inferiority complex"—all of which may help explain the volume of energy expended, but hardly explains its direction. He pays tribute to the Little Flower's shrewd political estimates, his tremendous capacity for work, and his quickness of mind, and concludes that he was "well-equipped to be a great leader of urban democracy in an age of crisis."

At the heart of the book is an excellent set of chapters discussing Mayor La Guardia's administrative apparatus, his war on crime, the expansion of welfare activities, and city structural changes. Included in the last is a penetrating account of the brief experiment with proportional representation, whose death in 1947 Garrett interprets (with reason) as "one of the early casualties of the Cold War." There are many intriguing tidbits: Eisenhower's veto of La Guardia as a brigadier general, La Guardia's puritanical disinclination to let Bertrand Russell teach at City College for one year, and his street corner proclamation on the sale of artichokes. Garrett asserts that the reform movement that swept La Guardia into

office and kept him there for twelve years was the greatest in the history of New York, and perhaps in any other American city.

Tammany and reform both declined after La Guardia, during the unimpressive administrations of O'Dwyer and Impellitteri. Then came the resurgence of Tammany under the curious leadership of Carmine De Sapio and the weak mayoralty of Wagner. If there is no present prospect for drastic reform, Garrett suggests, it is due to "the ethos of the nation."

Garrett's book is an extremely informative and often fascinating excursion into the political history of a city which mirrors, in many ways, our whole society. He has made judicious use of all available manuscript and secondary material and spiced his story with data drawn from personal interviews.

Spelman College

HOWARD ZINN

LA POLÍTICA INTERNACIONAL DE LA REVOLUCIÓN: ESTUDIOS Y DOCUMENTOS. By Aarón Sáenz. Prologue by Manuel González Ramírez. [Vida y Pensamiento de México.] (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1961. Pp. xxxii, 519.)

CRITICAL to the Mexican government in its international relations during the early 1920's was the question: would the United States accept internationally the revolution that Mexico had effected domestically? To a lengthening list of claims was added American unhappiness about the Mexican Constitution of 1917, especially that provision (Article Twenty-seven) which, returning mineral rights to the nation, posed a devastating threat to American investors. As Mexico sought to validate its revolution in international life, its northern neighbor countered with stubborn concern about American economic interests below the Rio Grande. Only with some harmonization of their divergent interests could normal diplomatic relations be renewed between the two countries.

With primary emphasis on Mexican-American relations, the present work is an official view of the foreign policy and diplomatic history of Mexico during the presidency of Alvaro Obregón (1920-1924) and early months of his successor, Plutarco Elías Calles. In the first half of the volume, Aarón Sáenz, who served as Undersecretary and then Secretary of Foreign Affairs in that period, sets forth his interpretation of Mexican policy and practice. In his lengthy eighth chapter discussing Mexican opposition to the policy of the government, Sáenz presents a cross section of the thought of such leaders as Luis Cabrera, Fernando González Roa, Isidro Fabela, Antonio Gómez Robledo, Vito Alessio Robles, and Adolfo de la Huerta.

Sáenz's book is basically a full and able reply to a volume published in Mexico in 1957 under the title *Memorias de Don Adolfo de la Huerta*. Appearing shortly after De la Huerta's death, its authorship was immediately questioned, but not so the bombshell it represented by way of historical interpretation. Terming the

purported memoirs of the powerful one-time-friend-then-enemy of both Obregón and Calles a baseless diatribe, Sáenz at once began the official reply in newspaper columns. This volume is the refined, final statement of that defense. To support his case, Sáenz publishes pertinent documents in the second half of his work. Thirty-two documents (1921-1923) relate to the renewal of diplomatic relations, eleven of them touching the Bucareli Conferences. An additional ten documents (1925-1926) concern legislation related to Article Twenty-seven.

More a defensive volley in a battle of political interpretation than diplomatic history per se, this work, nonetheless, is a notable contribution to the history of one of the most sensitive and significant chapters of Mexican-American relations in the twentieth century.

Southern Illinois University

C. HARVEY GARDINER

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

BOOKS

General

GESCHICHTLICHKEIT. By *August Brunner*. (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1961. Pp. 203. 22.00 fr. S.) The author, an accomplished Jesuit philosopher and scholar, undertakes in this work to gather out of the German tradition of historical thought all that can be fitted into basic Catholic doctrine. He is attracted to thinkers in this tradition because he shares with them a repugnance for the reduction of men in much contemporary thought to the status of mere natural objects which, like all objects in nature, are assumed to be determined in their characters and in their actions by external forces that play upon them. This naturalistic conception, a legacy from the Enlightenment, cannot be reconciled with the Catholic conception of man as a free being, possessed of a body and soul, whose very purpose in life, self-realization, commits him to a struggle against nature. Consequently, Brunner welcomes the German historical tradition's division of reality into the two distinct systems of nature and of spirit or *Geist*. In the former system he sees everything mechanistically determined by irresistible, invariable law; while in the latter, events consist, to some extent at least, of free actions directed toward the attainment of a good. Without the system of spirit, no self-possessing beings responsible for their own actions could exist. Without *Geist* there could be no men; there could be no history either. For history is the record of man's struggle, or rather of the struggles of uncounted thousands of individual men, to overcome nature by spiritualizing it. To understand the process of history, a historian must utilize the categories not of nature, but of *Geist*. A very interesting chapter is devoted to the elucidation of such historical categories as possibility, historical necessity, sense and purpose, significance, duration, and so forth. In the German historical tradition's emphasis upon history, the author finds a salutary counterweight to the antihistorical and antireligious naturalism of our time. But he sees a danger in that emphasis as well. History, he thinks, may tend quite as much as nature to become a false absolute. Lest it do so, he devotes his most intensive scholarly efforts to refuting what he considers such a tendency (*Die Verabsolutierung des Geschichtlichkeit*) in the works of Hegel, Dilthey, and Heidegger. The American historian will find this book enlightening and challenging, if not convincing. He will find it easier going, too, than most works in German historical theory.

University of Oregon

LLOYD R. SORENSON

HISTOIRE SOCIALE DU TRAVAIL, DE L'ANTIQUITÉ À NOS JOURS. By *Pierre Jaccard*. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1960. Pp. 350. 21 new fr.) If anyone wants a basketful of quotations related to some peoples' attitudes toward work, at some periods, and in some countries, Professor Jaccard's *Histoire sociale du travail* is the volume. The quotations are from a number of the best literary and theological sources, and from a few historians, psychologists, and sociologists. Several of the footnotes enable the reader to find his way to the original sources. Animated by a laudable belief in the dignity of labor and the human worth of the laborer, Jaccard concludes: "As ye would

that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.' The centuries pass, but certain duties remain: to work, to serve, to love." One who warmly and humbly agrees can only regret that the volume has so little of a coherent and reasoned *histoire sociale* to contribute beyond these high sentiments. The learned author was apparently so busy that, instead of writing a book, he turned over to his publishers a mass of notes and quotes, some personal observations, and purported narrative and analysis ranging from common sense and insight to uncommon oversimplification and wild error. It is this which his publishers have issued as one volume in a *Bibliothèque historique*.

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

VAL R. LORWIN

THE BRAVE NEW WORLD OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT. By Louis I. Bredvold. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1961. Pp. 164. \$3.95.) The purported theme of this tract is announced in the opening sentence of page one: "The purpose of these discourses is to examine some of the ideas of the Enlightenment that have had a continuing importance in the thought of the modern world." But in fact these six rambling lectures are about almost anything except the Enlightenment: seventeenth-century divines, sixteenth-century dramatists, and a rash of recent writers dominate them, while Montesquieu, Voltaire, Hume, and Kant (whose connection with the Enlightenment will be conceded by the most unorthodox) are ignored or mentioned in passing. It is true that Bredvold refers to Helvétius, Diderot, and Godwin, but mainly to denounce them. This is a depressing performance from a scholar who, after all, wrote an impressive book on Dryden. To be sure, Bredvold deals with some leading themes of the Enlightenment: the decline of natural law, the growing faith in a science of society, the sentimental view of man, and the hope for Utopia. But, despite some acute observations and well-chosen quotations, especially in the chapter on social science, Bredvold nowhere troubles to analyze these themes with any care or to do justice to the philosophes' efforts at intellectual reconstruction. We may freely admit that Helvétius' version of hedonism was naïve, but *De l'esprit* was neither the best nor the most characteristic product of the Enlightenment: therefore, Bredvold rightly takes a whole chapter for "The Sentimental View of Human Nature," which supposedly deals with the opponents of Helvétius' psychology of selfishness. But that chapter almost completely neglects the ideas of Diderot and Rousseau on sympathy, ideas which are central to an understanding of the Enlightenment. In the same way, Bredvold vulgarizes Diderot's call to "follow nature": Diderot did not want to abolish standards of morality but to establish new standards, as firm as and more reasonable than the old ones. Christian ethics, Diderot argued, had denied the claims of the body and therefore made honest moral action impossible; it was necessary to build a system on the recognition of man's most powerful drives. And again, the chapter on "Prospects of Utopia," which seizes on Godwin's writings—an easy target—never even hints at the powerful strain of pessimism or reasonable optimism among the philosophes. There is no reason to assume that the Enlightenment was beyond criticism, and no need to attack all its attackers. It is even plausible to argue that the philosophes have been admired too much, although whatever damage this excessive admiration may once have done has surely been rectified by the current vogue for Burke. But criticism of the Enlightenment, like all criticism, should begin with fair exposition and end in fair analysis. In this book, the philosophes get neither the one nor the other.

Columbia University

PETER GAY

NATIONALISM. By Elie Kedourie. (New York: Humanities Press. 1960. Pp. 151. \$4.50.) This book sets out to do three things: to lay bare the basic ideas of modern nationalism; to trace them back to their historic origins; and to judge their impact and

value in contemporary politics. Unfortunately, such an undertaking requires scholarly resources that the author lacks. His book is written in lucid style, but too often it conveys only superficial analysis and inaccurate information. Kedourie's efforts at theoretical analysis and intellectual history are presented in the first five chapters. Here he mainly attempts to trace the ideas of nationalism and national self-determination to Herder, Kant, and the German "post-Kantian philosophers" and romantic writers, such as Fichte, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Kleist, and the brothers Schlegel. These writers are then linked to such contemporary German political nationalists as Arndt, Jahn, and Adam Muller. The last two chapters, comprising about one-third of the text, present the author's application of this thesis to twentieth-century history and politics. According to Kedourie, the confusion of national self-determination with liberal government misled Woodrow Wilson, Jan Smuts, and the framers of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the United Nations Charter to accept national self-expression and self-government as desirable goals. In this, Kedourie insists, they were quite unrealistic. What research there is in the book has been concentrated on the intellectual history part of its thesis: the tracing of modern nationalism to the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German writers and philosophers. Here Kedourie has found a number of relevant and interesting citations, but they are so one-sidedly selected that they seriously misrepresent the balance of thought of such philosophers as Kant and Fichte. In the discussion of twentieth-century politics, documentation is again abandoned for opinion. The author's frequent references to the Habsburg Empire seem based on inadequate knowledge. On most matters, Kedourie is writing in the style of that legendary judge who was found to have been "often in error but rarely in doubt." A note on "Further Reading" ignores not only most of the recent American work on nationalism, but also such well-known British works on nationalism and nationality as those of Sir Ernest Barker, Edward Hallett Carr, Alfred Cobban, and Nicholas Mansergh. The total impression is one of a curious mixture of innocence and confidence, with the author laying down doctrines on a range of subjects of which his study has been anything but thorough.

Yale University

KARL W. DEUTSCH

THE CONDUCT OF WAR, 1789-1961: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF THE FRENCH, INDUSTRIAL, AND RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS ON WAR AND ITS CONDUCT. By J. F. C. Fuller. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1961. Pp. 352. \$6.00.) J. F. C. Fuller, the distinguished British military historian and analyst, here briefly reviews the "conduct of war" in Western society from the opening of the Age of Revolution to the present of multimegaton "deterrence." With a prefatory glance at the "limited wars of the absolute kings," he records the "rebirth of unlimited war" under the combined impact of the new ideas of popular sovereignty and the new technology—"the mating," as he puts it, of "Rousseau's idea of the 'general will' and the energy begotten by Watt's steam engine." He discusses Clausewitz' saving notion (as Fuller regards it) of war as "an instrument of policy"; he reports the American Civil War as marking the initiation of total warfare; he discusses the several ways in which the elder Moltke, Foch, and Ivan Bloch tried to deal with the developing war problem. Much the larger part of the book then goes to the "conduct" of the two world wars and the development of the Communist concepts of war waged, primarily by nonmilitary means, directly upon the enemy's internal fronts. Only in a final and quite inadequate chapter on "The Problem of Peace" does the nuclear revolution briefly appear. The book manifests Fuller's wide knowledge of the material, but is difficult to regard as a work of scholarship. It is, rather, a vehicle on which he strings his already rather well-known themes: the degradation of war by democracy plus technology; the follies of the

statesmen in two world wars resulting from their failure to understand war as a political instrument which they should have limited to political ends; the belief that not victory but a stable peace should be the true object of all war; the horror of "strategic" air warfare and all other forms of total violence. Fuller's insights into the development of the war system through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are often of great value, but his tendency to substitute didacticism for analysis leaves many of his judgments open to at least some question and to reduce a few of them to the absurd. His advice at the end is that "no compromise with the Soviets is possible" and that the West should "shun all conferences like the plague." But at the same time he accepts Bloch's conclusion (arrived at over sixty years ago) that "humanity has progressed beyond the stage in which war can any longer be regarded as a possible Court of Appeal." And so we shall go on having war, but fight it only by nonmilitary means. How this is to be accomplished under the shadow of the megatons—and in particular how this kind of "war" to produce a stable peace if it permits of no negotiation or compromise—remains obscure.

Glen Head, New York

WALTER MILLIS

LA FRANCE, LES ÉTATS-UNIS ET LA GUERRE DE COURSE (1797-1815). By *Ulane Bonnel*. Preface by *Marcel Dunan*. (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1961. Pp. 489.) Mme. Bonnel, an American-born resident of France, not surprisingly turned to Franco-American relations as the subject of her doctor's thesis. Choosing to ignore or to pass lightly over other issues during the period from 1797 to 1815, she concentrated upon the controversy over ocean commerce. The resulting book is inadequate and incomplete on its subject, although it may have the unfortunate effect of seeming to foreclose the field. Proceedings before the *Conseil des prises* and lesser courts, mostly in the Antilles, dominate the text. Often it is not clear that the cases so laboriously reconstructed are significant ones, and the *Horizon* decision of 1807, a major landmark, is dismissed in a sentence. French policy, as opposed to the courts' application of it, is given cursory treatment. Furthermore, with only two-fifths of the book devoted to the years after 1803, imperial policy receives particularly incomplete attention. Finally, Mme. Bonnel's account of the American reaction to French seizures contains numerous errors and superficial generalizations that will startle her readers, in this country at least. As this suggests, her research on the American side is perfunctory; a hasty reading of Henry Adams appears to be the principal reliance. In France, Mme. Bonnel has done much better, searching out a wide variety of manuscripts that might have enabled her to make a penetrating study of Napoleonic policy. Despite these shortcomings, the book contains scattered bits of helpful information. The valuable list of French seizures, 1,434 in all, shows that they were far more numerous in the 1790's than under the Empire and that, at least until the end, most seizures took place in the Caribbean. French courts are shown to be far worse than contemporary British tribunals, completely under the imperial thumb and so slow moving that captains, even those who might have violated no French regulations, found it necessary to make compromise settlements with their captors. Mme. Bonnel makes sense of the French insistence upon the *rôle d'équipage*, perhaps the key issue in the 1790's and not before clearly explained. By contrast, she shows that the critical issue after 1807 was the Milan decree's insistence that neutral ships not allow themselves to be visited by the Royal Navy. Such contributions do not obscure the fact that this volume in no way fulfills the need for a perceptive study of Franco-American relations or even of the interplay between the Continental System and American commerce.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRADFORD PERKINS

FOUR STUDIES IN WAR AND PEACE IN THIS CENTURY. By *W. K. Hancock*. [The Wiles Lectures Given at the Queen's University, Belfast, October 1960.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 129. \$3.75.) In these four lectures delivered at the Queen's University, Belfast, under the Wiles Benefaction, the distinguished Australian historian Sir Keith Hancock explores some of the problems of war and peace in the nuclear age. As one of the editors of the official British war histories and author of the forthcoming biography of Field Marshal Smuts, Hancock views contemporary military problems with the experienced eye of one who has studied deeply both the big and little wars of the twentieth century and the peace that followed them. The first lecture, "War in this Century," begins with a discussion of the traditional British (and American) strategy of "the long haul," and the relevance of the historical study of war in an era of intercontinental rockets and hydrogen bombs. Though he considers the strategy of the long haul "dead and buried," and the thread of history shattered by Hiroshima, Hancock believes that history still has value, especially in the study of little or limited wars and of the economics of war. It is in this last subject, in which he has done so much work, that he is at his best. The second essay deals with Smuts and his experience at treaty making after the Boer War in 1902 and at Versailles in 1919. In both cases, the difficulties of arriving at an equitable and lasting peace are stressed. Next, Hancock turns to nonviolence, favored by many in Britain and America as a response to the threat of nuclear war. He examines this technique first in terms of Gandhi's experience in South Africa, where the career lines of Gandhi and Smuts cross and then in its modern form as expressed by Sir Stephen King-Hall. Hancock is not hopeful about this technique as a substitute for military power and doubts that Gandhi would have been successful with Hitler or Stalin. The final lecture, "Civitas Maxima," is an effort to relate contemporary problems to the international community. It deals briefly with the rule of law and the various efforts to achieve an effective international organization through the Commonwealth, the League of Nations, and the United Nations. Appropriately enough, Smuts has the last word, and it is, relatively, a hopeful word. "On the short time scale of history," wrote Smuts, "you may doubt whether and in what respects we have advanced beyond Socrates and Plato and Athens, but when you see those awful gorilla forms of your far off ancestry how could you doubt about the advances? And to speculate on what might be a million years hence!"

Dartmouth College

LOUIS MORTON

PROTIV FAL'SIFIKATSII ISTORII VTOROI MIROVOI VOINY [Against the Falsification of the History of the Second World War]. By *A. I. Erëmenko*. (2d rev. ed.; Moscow: Foreign Literature Press. 1959. Pp. 148. 2 rubles, 80 kopecks.) This booklet is part of the intensive Soviet effort to provide a "scientific" history of the Second World War and, preliminary to systematic reinterpretation, to clear the ground by "exposing" certain non-Communist writings. Combining research with propaganda, the volume deals in particular with the memoirs of Guderian and Von Mannstein, as well as British and American collections based on analogous materials. It includes a more technical discussion of what used to be known as the Battle of Stalingrad and a worthless attack on Western "falsifications" of the diplomatic background of the war. It is a curious work, of primary interest for the changing politics of Soviet historiography rather than for its intrinsic content.

Columbia University

ALEXANDER DALLIN

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER: THE IMPACT OF THE CASABLANCA POLICY UPON WORLD WAR II. By *Anne Armstrong*. (New Brunswick, N. J.:

Rutgers University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 304. \$6.50.) When, at the conclusion of the Casablanca Conference, President Roosevelt announced to the press that "unconditional surrender" would henceforth be the Allied aim in the war, he raised issues on the Western, and especially the American, approach to World War II policy and strategy that even today sharply divide students of the period. This book represents an attempt to deal with some of the problems and to find some of the answers, or at least an approach to them. Its focus is the impact of the policy on Germany; the Japanese side is not treated. Among the specific questions the author poses are: did the demand lengthen and intensify the war, and did it doom the anti-Nazi resistance movement within Germany and thus prevent a solution of the problem of Central Europe suitable to Allied interests? Emphasizing that there are no absolute answers to such questions, the author presents an analysis rather than a detailed history of the policy. The result is a provocative but somewhat uneven work. The analysis of Allied strategy and policy, and especially FDR's position, is oversimplified. While it eschews final answers, the weight of the argument tends to put it in the J. F. C. Fuller, B. H. Liddell Hart, Hanson Baldwin school of critics who have found the policy wanting. What is new is the fresh and more detailed attempt to get at the German reaction, especially the effect on the anti-Nazi movement, through unpublished sources and interviews. The author argues that the resistance movement, culminating in the July 1944 plot against Hitler, was sizable; that it had widespread roots in the army, civil service, church, trade-unions, and elsewhere; and that the uncompromising demand for unconditional surrender was "at least a factor" in the failure of the plot. The book will raise as many questions as it attempts to answer. Two questions in particular remain: Assuming Hitler had been overthrown in July 1944, would another German leader have been able to negotiate a compromise settlement? Did the unconditional surrender concept decisively affect the pattern of German surrenders on the fronts in the spring of 1945? The necessarily fragmentary nature of the German evidence leaves much of this work an exercise in speculation and logic.

Department of the Army

MAURICE MATLOFF

AMERICA IN BRITAIN'S PLACE: THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WEST AND ANGLO-AMERICAN UNITY. By *Lionel Gelber*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1961. Pp. x, 356. \$5.00.) Academic historians in the United States happily do not share fully the mistrust that many of their British counterparts display toward histories of very recent times. It is true that this mistrust is more obvious in the case of teaching than of research. Most university history syllabuses in Britain stop at 1939, as in 1939 they stopped at 1914, and in 1914 at about 1868. But there is a distinct feeling among the more austere scholars that post-World War II history cannot really be written because there is not full access to materials and because the writer's bias must vitiate his judgment. (One reason for the first opinion is that British authorities and institutions are far slower to release their archives than is the case in the United States.) The results of this sentiment can be absurd because able historians are sometimes discouraged from advancing beyond the point, some ten or twenty years ago, at which history becomes most immediately relevant to our affairs and can therefore, as it seems to many, teach us most. The loss that British historical scholarship may thus suffer is admirably illustrated by this book, which is an analysis of the present significance of the Anglo-American relationship in world affairs, studied in the light of the last fifty years of history. It has morals to draw, lessons to teach. Because Gelber is a master of his subject—he has been for nearly a quarter of a century the foremost authority on the rise of Anglo-American friendship between 1895 and 1914—these are lessons well worth learning. That this is so does not in any way sully the historical content of his work. His sources are, of

course, more limited than they will be forty years on, but he makes the best possible use of them. His treatment of the recent history of the United States and the Commonwealth in the general context of international affairs is both comprehensive and penetrating. He writes in a rich, studied, and characteristic style, which often needs much thought for full understanding and which is sometimes remarkably reminiscent of Henry Adams. The general conclusions he draws are not obtrusively or forcibly imposed on his detailed narrative. As a result, the work is a most valuable piece of recent history, an admirable example of its kind.

University College London

H. C. ALLEN

Ancient and Medieval

FREEDOM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD. By *Herbert J. Muller*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1961. Pp. xvii, 360. \$7.50.) This book offers a conspectus of human history, with reference to the promotion or retardation of the principle of freedom, from Neolithic times to the fall of Constantinople. Only a central and persistent theme can give so varied a span coherence, and only a theme of continuing relevance and urgency can make the history meaningful to the ordinary reader. Mr. Muller's conception and execution are alike admirable. He does not manipulate history, as do Spengler and Toynbee, to fit a preconceived scheme, nor is his work a personal arraignment of organized obscurantism, like Gibbon's. Because of his scale and focus Muller must necessarily exclude peripheral matter and sometimes state rather than demonstrate his points. Various segments of his subject have of course received extended and expert treatment by individual specialists, and his views of them are not novel; what is novel is his informed, judicious, and attractively presented conspectus of the whole, in which the parts are mutually illuminating. Though the audience the book envisages is nonspecialist, it must yet be knowledgeable, and some indication of particularly striking views or treatments, more specific than the listing of titles in the bibliography, might be helpful. The excellent quotations certainly deserve documentation. Muller uses his footnotes for personal comments or expansions. But despite its lack of learned apparatus Muller's book is more soundly based on historical fact than many essays of its kind; individual insights and judgments that may diverge from those commonly accepted therefore command respect. His treatments of Greeks, Hebrews, Romans, and Christians, of Plato, St. Paul, and St. Augustine are far from the traditional idealization, but also far from the blanket condemnation that has become almost as traditional. If there is a villain in the piece, it is man's propensity to "miracle, mystery, and authority." But this propensity, as Muller's book shows, has not always been irresistible and has often been overcome by the drive to freedom. The prophylactic is education, for which books like Muller's are an effective instrument. We look forward to the sequel he promises.

Columbia University

MOSES HADAS

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ITALY FROM THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By *Gino Luzzatto*. Translated from the Italian by *Philip Jones*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1961. Pp. vii, 180. \$5.00.) Professor Luzzatto's little book covers tightly and exactly later imperial Roman Italy to roughly A.D. 1000 in four chapters and fifty pages; the eleventh to the twelfth century in two chapters and forty pages; urban economy in its prime in a fifty-page chapter; and the "waning" after A.D. 1350 in a final thirty-page chapter. For general reader or student use it is unparalleled; no other country's medieval economic history now has an equally good succinct coverage in English. The printed bibliography

is skimpy because full coverage by the author is elsewhere available and because in this book the effort was made to refer to things in English—a very restricted list in its very nature. Only in holding the inceptions of various advanced merchandising and financial practices to be earlier than Luzzatto ever allows, do I wish to change anything—to be more royalist than the king. Philip Jones's version is clear and direct. Bibliographers should notice that it is not an exact full translation of any one printed Italian book; those wishing to get at the fuller versions of Luzzatto's writing can use the following: *Storia economica dell'Italia nel Medio Evo*, the translation into Italian with expansion of the extensive bibliography of Alfred Doren's 1934 work, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte Italiens im Mittelalter* (1937); *Storia economica d'Italia*, Volume I, *L'Antichità e il Medioevo* (1949); and *Breve storia economica d'Italia: Dalla caduta dell'Impero Romano al principio del cinquecento* (1958).

University of Wisconsin

ROBERT L. REYNOLDS

EARLY CHRISTIANITY AND GREEK PAIDEIA. By *Werner Jaeger*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. 154. \$3.25.) The death of Werner Jaeger reminds us of the greatness, and decline, of nineteenth-century classical scholarship. Few remain to represent at once its comprehensiveness and creativity. Mommsen, Zeller, Rostovtzeff, and Jaeger, to name only a few, found in the classics values which most of us now seek elsewhere, if at all. We are apt to forget that truly humane ideas will come to us more often if we study the depths in the great minds of the past than if we gather new information about the details of life. The criterion now on our dissertation reports, "use of new material," has no relevance in studying Paul or Plato. If we would know the possibilities of the human spirit we will find them best where they were most developed and manifest. Jaeger's book, which I am so circuitously reviewing, exemplifies fully this noble approach to scholarship. He says in his preface: "When I wrote my *Paideia*, I had intended from the beginning that that work should include a special volume on the reception of the Greek *paideia* into the early Christian world. . . . At my present age I can no longer be sure that I shall ever be in a position to treat the issue on that broad scale, and even though I have not given up hope of achieving that goal, now that I am sufficiently prepared to do so, I have decided to lay down certain main outlines in these lectures and to publish them as a kind of down payment on what I hope will be a larger whole." We shall never have his larger book. We learn from the lectures that he would have argued that traces of the Greek writers appear even in the New Testament, but that the great conception of education of the Greek fathers, from Justin Martyr to the Cappadocians, was to fuse the Bible with Greek literature and philosophy; that this conception disappeared largely from the West after Augustine, but was the very meaning of humanism in the Italian Renaissance. If the book does not document this thesis, it does state it clearly and cogently. That is, Jaeger died, not like a spent old man, but like a young woman stricken in pregnancy. He would be pleased to have us in dedication of ourselves quote as his epitaph the sentence of Philo: "The scholar is dead, but scholarship goes on."

Yale University

ERWIN GOODENOUGH

SŁOWIAŃSZCZYŻNA WCZESNOŚREDNIOWIECZNA: ZARYS KULTURY MATERIALNEJ [Slavs in the Early Middle Ages: History of Material Culture]. By *Witold Hensel*. [Polish Academy of Sciences. Institute of Material Culture.] (2d ed.; Warsaw: State Scientific Publishing House. 1956. Pp. 493. Zł. 51.80.) Hensel, who holds the chair of Slavic archaeology at Warsaw University and is director of the Institute of History of Material Culture at the Polish Academy of Sciences, is the author of many published works. The present book is a cultural history of eight hundred years of

Slavdom between the fifth and the thirteenth centuries. It relates to all the lands of East Central Europe where the Slavs lived during that period. Hensel anticipates that this study will eventually become part of a comprehensive history of Slavic culture in the Middle Ages. The first edition of the present work appeared in 1952; four years later it came out considerably augmented and enriched with footnotes. In the light of numerous recent archaeological discoveries relating to the life of the Slavs in the Middle Ages, the author sets forth details on the economy, industry, settlements and building construction, hygiene, clothing, transportation, trade, and arms. Hensel acknowledges that, apart from archaeological research and various scattered materials relating to the field, his work has benefited materially from the monumental and authoritative studies in early Slavic history of Lubor Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti* (1904-1934), and Kazimierz Moszyński's *Kultura ludowa Słowian* (1929-1939).

Washington, D. C.

JANINA W. HOSKINS

ADOMNAN'S LIFE OF COLUMBA. Edited with translation and notes by *Alan Orr* and *Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson*. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1961. Pp. xxiv, 590. 50s.) This definitive edition (a century after the last one) of the life of the sixth-century Irish missionary to Scotland and founder of the monastery of Iona, written by a seventh-century successor to the abbacy, is not a biography of the saint but rather a work of hagiographical edification, a loosely organized collection of miracles, prophecies, and angelic appearances closing with a conventionally pious death. These exhibitions of power, prescience, and holiness, and the evidence they give of sixth- and seventh-century beliefs and practices are made accessible in a carefully established and well-printed Latin text and a faithful yet readable translation. The materials are surveyed in the introduction for the facts they present on the author's purposes as well as on the events of Columba's life and on early Irish monasticism. The editors' most scholarly devotion is given, however, to the Irish historical and linguistic background. They examine meticulously the annalistic and other evidence for the persons and events referred to in the *Life*. They analyze its author's Latinization of proper names and other Old Irish words. The thoroughness of the scholarship in Irish legend and language is impressive, though the reader inexperienced in this field would have welcomed broad summaries of events and of linguistic changes. These would have been no substitute, however, for the careful study of Adomnan's forms. The editors' care is shown also in their interpretation of peculiarities of the script and especially of the accents and other signs. Their scholarly approach may well make a fresh edition unnecessary for another hundred years.

Reed College

R. F. ARRAGON

THE LETTERS OF GERBERT WITH HIS PAPAL PRIVILEGES AS SYLVESTER II. Translated with an introduction by *Harriet Pratt Lattin*. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies Number 60.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 412. \$7.50.) This volume contains the first complete translation into English of Gerbert's letters, following substantially the well-known edition by Havet in 1889 but with some additions, some departures from his order, and some corrections of his dates, and a translation of the thirty-one documents properly ascribable to Pope Sylvester II, for which texts exist. Each of these letters and acts is preceded by the editor's summary of its content, with the place and date of composition as far as these can be determined. A substantial introduction gives a brief, rather complicated but very useful biography of Gerbert, comments in detail upon the extant manuscripts and upon the previous editions of both letters and acts, discusses the significance of these letters and papal privileges for our understanding of the relatively obscure tenth century in Europe, and

gives pertinent information concerning the present translation. Two of the four appendixes are lists respectively of the letters and acts of Sylvester II for which there are no extant texts and of the spurious privileges ascribed to him. There is a fairly extensive bibliographical list, without critical comment, of the works most frequently cited and of the books most valuable for an understanding of the documents translated. This is an extremely competent edition of the letters and acts of Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II. The editor may have somewhat overstated the importance of her material for a proper estimate of the tenth century, but much insight is certainly introduced into this period from many angles, including the political, the ecclesiastical, and the educational. I regret the omission of all reference to the "legend of Gerbert" and note the absence in the bibliography of the work on Gerbert by Allen, Graf, and Eichengrün, among others, and of Professor Lopez' illuminating remarks on the tenth century (*AHR*, LVII [Oct. 1951], 1-21).

Smith College

SIDNEY R. PACKARD

TWELFTH-CENTURY EUROPE AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN SOCIETY: PROCEEDINGS OF A SYMPOSIUM SPONSORED BY THE DIVISION OF HUMANITIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN AND THE WISCONSIN INSTITUTE FOR MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES, NOVEMBER 12-14, 1957. Edited by *Marshall Clagett et al.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 219. \$5.00.) When Haskins wrote on the twelfth century as a period of renaissance, he based his theme principally on the history of learning. Here, the authors look at that century in studies that range from iconography and theology to political theory, economic developments, and Middle Eastern culture. Haskins would have admired the bold scope of this symposium, in which frequent tribute was paid him. Academics lead more isolated lives than is often realized, and one great value of a symposium is to encourage and stimulate scholars in a given field by bringing them together to share their experiences and to rediscover their relationships and common grounds of interest. It is rather more doubtful that the published results of such a meeting will increase general appreciation of the period concerned. Readers may have difficulty in getting these nine studies on the twelfth century into a common focus. The discussions at the symposium undoubtedly could accomplish this, in ways suggested by the excellent introduction of the editors. Three of the studies are outstanding; each deals with a major aspect of the period, and in ways that justify looking both at the twelfth century in itself and at its place in Western history. Strayer's essay on comparative developments in Western feudalism is required reading for any student of medieval institutions, specialist or beginner; synthesis made with fresh insights here gives new form and significance even to familiar materials. Kantorowicz' essay stresses the relationships of the twelfth century to later developments through the effects of the revival of jurisprudence on political institutions and theory. It offers brilliant and provocative suggestions for students in many fields. Von Grunebaum on Islam is not easy reading, but he makes a valuable survey of main features in the complex Eastern culture that had such important relations with Western society and that was facing a crisis of its own. Several of the other essays deal with more restricted topics. These will often interest specialists in the field concerned, but the general reader may find it harder to see their relationship to the theme suggested by the title of the book. Nevertheless, they illustrate the fact that any attack on a period involves and depends on "small-unit action" as well as strategic synthesis.

Harvard University

CHARLES H. TAYLOR

PODZIAŁY TERYTORIALNE POMORZA W XII-XIII WIEKU [Territorial Divisions of Pomerania in the 12th and 13th Centuries]. By *Kazimierz Ślaski*. [Society of Friends of Science. Department of History and Social Sciences, Historical Committee. Works. Volume XVIII, Part 4.] (Poznań: the Society. 1960. Pp. 327. Zł. 67.00.) This volume is intended to give Polish readers an insight into the historical background of Pomerania during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a period in which the influences that eventually gave character to this area were actively at work. Owing to the fact that, until the end of World War II, western Pomerania had not come under the control of any Polish government in modern times, relatively little research has been done by Polish historians. The present work consequently supplements the few noteworthy Polish studies that have dealt to any appreciable extent with the geographic history of Pomerania, in particular the work by Stanisław Arnold on the tribal territories that came under Polish administration during the reign of the Piast dynasty (*Terytoria plemienne w ustroju administracyjnym Polski Piastowskiej (xii-xiii w.)*). In writing this book, Ślaski has drawn upon a number of works in German. Important among them, as he has acknowledged, has been the basic work by Fritz Curschmann, *Die Landeseinteilung Pommerns im Mittelalter und die Verwaltungseinteilung der Neuzeit*, which reconstructed the medieval territorial divisions of western Pomerania. In attempting to reconstruct the territorial divisions of Pomerania during two centuries of political, economic, and cultural change, Ślaski has identified twenty-five provinces (*kasztelanie*), as he deals separately with the political history and geography of each and traces their territorial subdivisions. This has been a difficult task in view of the fragmentary and confused sources on which the author has been compelled at times to rely, but it may be said that the volume provides useful material for a future and more comprehensive geographic history of Poland. He submits a number of new concepts on the origin of territorial units in the areas inhabited by the western Slavs. This volume appears at a significant time because Poland is celebrating, through the years 1960-1966, the millennium of its existence as a state. As a feature of this celebration, extensive research in Polish medieval history is being encouraged, and archaeological work is being actively pursued.

Washington, D. C.

JANINA W. HOSKINS

FEUDALISM AND LIBERTY: ARTICLES AND ADDRESSES OF SIDNEY PAINTER. Edited by *Fred A. Cazal, Jr.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1961. Pp. x, 313. \$5.50.) The essays collected in this volume are excellent examples of the ideas and methods that made Sidney Painter one of the most influential American medievalists of his generation. His primary interest was in feudal institutions, but he was never satisfied with broad generalizations and theoretical descriptions. He wanted to know how feudal institutions worked in a specific time and place—hence his book on the English feudal barony and his articles on "English Castles in the Early Middle Ages" and "Castellans of the Plain of Poitou." He wanted to understand the men who made the institutions work—hence his books on William Marshall and Peter of Dreux and his article on the "Lords of Lusignan." He realized that family connections were of great importance in determining the behavior of individual feudal lords—hence the careful genealogical studies such as those on "The Houses of Lusignan and Châtellerault" or "The House of Quency." At the same time, Painter believed that medieval history had relevance for our own day. In textbooks, in encyclopedia articles, and in public addresses he insisted on two ideas: first, that many elements of modern government derive from feudal institutions; second, that the restraints on government which guarantee our liberties have a feudal origin. He could not develop these ideas very fully in the brief speeches included in this book, but he stated them in clear and persuasive

language. Nonspecialists may find these addresses the most interesting part of this memorial volume.

Princeton University

J. R. STRAYER

THE NORTHERNERS: A STUDY IN THE REIGN OF KING JOHN. By J. C. Holt. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 272. \$6.75.) Contemporary writers during the last years of the reign of King John distinguished one group of rebel barons in particular whom they entitled the Northerners. This new study retraces the political processes leading up to the issuing of Magna Carta by focusing special attention on these rebel barons of the north. The documents have been exhausted in order to trace the course of events from 1212 to 1216 and to discern the political, administrative, financial, and legal factors that led to the great revolt of 1215. Some of Holt's general conclusions concerning the reign of King John will produce no great surprise. In many respects he works within the broad outlines of Sidney Painter although he disagrees in matters of detail. King John is still pictured as a capable and efficient administrator who advanced the program of Angevin autocracy but who succeeded in antagonizing his barons through his personal ruthlessness and disagreeableness. With Sir Maurice Powicke the author also attributes special importance to the loss of Normandy because it resulted in drawing the King's unwelcomed attention back to England. The great value of Holt's work lies in the initial part where he devotes painstaking analysis to the political and social structure of the northern rebels who might be characterized as the first of the English political parties. Unlike Powicke and Painter, he minimizes family ties, and tenurial bonds chiefly explain the loyalties of the knights and gentry. The two important common factors that produced the Northerners, according to the author, were geographical proximity and a common oppression by the King. In attempting to extend the effectiveness of royal government into the northern counties particularly by means of forest administration and financial dealings with the barons, John himself created a party of rebel Northerners. Again these conclusions are not unusual, but Holt has increased our knowledge of the subject with a remarkable richness of detail.

Johns Hopkins University

JOHN W. BALDWIN

OBRAZOVANIE LITOVSKOGO GOSUDARSTVA [The Rise of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania]. By V. T. Pashuto. (Moscow: Academy of Sciences of the USSR Press for the Institute of History, Academy of Sciences. 1959. Pp. 530. 2 rubles, 43 kopecks.) Amalgamation of the territories of the individual Lithuanian princes into a relatively unified Lithuanian state in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has long merited more investigation than it has received. As far as I know, Pashuto's book is the first major work to appear since the studies published over half a century ago by the Russian historian M. K. Liubavskii. The few authors who have given peripheral consideration to the process of formation of the Lithuanian state have almost all noted the lack of ready information on this subject. Pashuto, a Soviet historian, has published during the past decade several books and many articles on medieval western Russia and its borderlands. He has now produced a study of the rise of Lithuania from the eleventh century to the end of Gedimin's rule in 1341. The volume is based not only on monographic and documentary materials, but also incorporates archaeological findings of recent decades. The study deserves attention, though, not unexpectedly, it is written within a broad framework of Marxist and pro-Russian interpretation. Pashuto attributes the establishment of a Lithuanian state to long-operative economic and social forces and not to the chance role played by a great leader, Mindovg. He also indicates the importance of military and diplomatic developments among the powers bordering on Lithuanian territory. The historical analysis, which occupies about one-third of the

book, is preceded by two essays, one on sources and the other on historiography. The volume is completed by documentary addenda and a thirty-five-page bibliography of Western European and Russian sources and studies bearing on this period of Lithuanian development.

Hollins College

WALTER S. HANCHETT

ERFORSCHUNG DES MITTELALTERS: AUSGEWÄHLTE ABHANDLUNGEN UND AUFSÄTZE. Volumes III and IV. By *Paul Lehmann*. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1960; 1961. Pp. 309; 412. DM 54; DM 78.) In 1959 Paul Lehmann published two volumes of twenty-four articles concerned with medieval literature, textual criticism, and paleography, fields in which he excelled and in which he has become the *doyen*. Now he has brought out two more volumes comprising thirty-seven essays on subjects of the same genre, all characterized by the erudition and meticulousness that have been the trademark of Lehmann since his first work began to appear early in this century. These four volumes, to be followed by yet a fifth, not only conveniently assemble his principal studies, but also underscore his influential role as a teacher. Following in the tradition of the famous masters of the Middle Ages, Lehmann pays tribute to his great teacher Ludwig Traube and dedicates one of the volumes to his distinguished students, Anton Mayer, Bernhard Bischoff, and Suso H. Brechter. Within the compass of a short review one cannot fully describe or evaluate thirty-seven essays. Like those in the first two volumes, they concentrate upon the transmission of manuscripts and upon the libraries of such monasteries as Amorbach, Reichenau, Lorsch, St.-Gall, and Fulda. Essentially these are studies for the philologists and literary specialists, especially the articles on the role of German monasteries in the transmission of antique learning, on the value and authenticity of a hitherto dubious writing of Bede, and on a twelfth-century collection of Latin poetry. Lehmann's wide interests run from a study of the use of *enim* and *autem* in medieval Latin to Jöhanne Troster, fifteenth-century German humanist and benefactor of Bavarian libraries, from a miracle book of the Cistercian Order to Latin philologists of the seventeenth century. One of the most valuable studies is that on the development of numbering leaves, pages, columns, and lines of medieval manuscripts. Contrary to the prevailing opinion that such numbering was not practiced until the fourteenth century, Lehmann shows that already in the thirteenth century manuscripts were consecutively numbered by pages rather than by folios and that exact references were made to columns and lines. These volumes offer little to the historian not interested in the above subjects. Even when Lehmann discusses the Benedictine Order and the transmission of the Latin classics in the Middle Ages or when he talks about the literary forms and intellectual movements of the twelfth century, he does not write intellectual history; he simply describes what classical manuscripts were copied and transmitted, what Latin and vernacular literature was composed, and what masters were teaching. The value of these volumes lies in the vast amount of material well sorted and catalogued.

University of California, Berkeley

BRYCE LYON

Modern

UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

ST. THOMAS MORE: A PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS WORKS AND OF MOREANA TO THE YEAR 1750. Compiled by *R. W. Gibson*. With a Bibliography of Utopiana compiled by *R. W. Gibson* and *J. Max Patrick*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. xx, 499. \$12.50.) This is a most useful, accurate,

and well-arranged reference work. The printing is an appropriate tribute to fine scholarship: the pages are uncluttered, the type is attractive, and the reproductions are clear. Librarians will find the book indispensable, as will many historians and students of literature. It is the most comprehensive bibliography yet published of More's works and of *Moreana* to the year 1750. The first six sections of the book provide full bibliographical descriptions of More's works and of the important lives of More. Latin, English, French, Spanish, German, and Dutch editions and translations are listed, with up-to-date information on the location of copies in European, British, Canadian, and American libraries. The last five sections of the bibliography are arranged as follows: letters to and from More; *Moreana*, or a collection of allusions to More and to his writings; utopiana, or a bibliography of utopias, dystopias, and related works, with a valuable introduction defining these terms; a list of fictitious utopian addresses; and, finally, a list of the portraits of More that appear in works described elsewhere in the book. The references gathered under the headings of "*Moreana*" and "*Utopiana*" are exceptionally full and will facilitate the work of scholars who want to investigate More's influence or trace the history of his reputation. The omission of John Aubrey's "*Brief Life*" of More may seem surprising, but omissions (more or less surprising to others) are inevitable in any preliminary bibliography. Mr. R. W. Gibson and Professor J. Max Patrick have skillfully performed an important task of scholarship. A more nearly definitive bibliography will be issued, maybe ten years hence, after the Yale University edition of the works of St. Thomas More is completed in fourteen volumes.

Reed College

F. SMITH FUSSNER

ESSAYS IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF TUDOR AND STUART ENGLAND, IN HONOUR OF R. H. TAWNEY. Edited by F. J. Fisher. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. 235. \$5.50.) *Festschriften* are seldom sufficiently interesting to be much of a compliment to the scholar who inspires them. Fortunately, in these essays, a first-rate scholar, a great teacher, and a noble man is appropriately honored. Not that any single essay in this volume will ever be as important as Tawney's lecture on Harrington: they are slight. Not that any of the authors is a stylist to compare with Tawney: he would never write that "it would be ludicrous to dismiss the works of Shakespeare as products of the mis-allocation of economic resources." But the essays demonstrate why the years from 1540 to 1640 continue to be Tawney's century: not, as Trevor-Roper rudely charged, because Tawney's interpretations have become an unchallenged orthodoxy, but because Tawney has suggested the questions that the twentieth century finds it profitable to ask of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These essays all ask Tawney's questions. (Curiously, there is little here on the big question of the rise or decline of the gentry.) F. J. Fisher's general and somewhat pedestrian essay on "Tawney's Century" shows how much recent work in economic history and the history of social thought has been inspired by Tawney. Christopher Hill, in a wide-ranging essay on "Protestantism and Capitalism," examines some of the unresolved issues "by developing hints given by Professor Tawney himself." Maurice Beresford discusses "Habitation versus Improvement" and indicates that government came to accept enclosures by agreement when it understood that they did not necessarily or usually result in unemployment and a shortage of food. The slightest of the essays, by Joan Thirsk, suggests that the economic historian may be able to show that "the location of handicraft industries is not altogether haphazard, but is associated with certain types of farming community and certain kinds of social organization," an important causal link in the story of the rise of modern economic society. Lawrence Stone's account of the finances of the first Earl of Salisbury, his sources of income, investments, real estate operations, and princely building, is first-rate history—social,

economic, cultural, political, moral, all together—and makes the reader impatient to see his promised full-scale study of Tudor and Stuart aristocracy. In “England and the Mediterranean,” Ralph Davis neatly illustrates the growth of English wealth: Tudor England sent raw materials to Italy and imported Italian manufactures, but by 1750 the roles were reversed. Robert Ashton’s “Charles I and the City,” an interesting by-product of his recent book on *The Crown and the Money Market* (1960) argues strongly for a quasi-economic interpretation of the Civil Wars in opposition to the modern fashion for ghostly explanations. G. E. Aylmer’s “Officers of the Exchequer,” again a by-product of his excellent book *The King’s Servants* (1961), gives a fascinating glimpse of the people in that office, although some of the descriptions in technical language will baffle the nonspecialist. D. H. Pennington’s essay describing the committee appointed in 1643 to supervise “The Accounts of the Kingdom” is a model of administrative history, inviting us to remember that bureaucracy has its own reasons and that these play a part in history. Finally, D. C. Coleman’s essay on Sir John Banks, the Restoration financier, interesting in itself, leads the reader to hope for the early publication of the promised biography of Banks. But here again, the technical descriptions of financial transactions are occasionally too much for the nonspecialist. I recommend a model to Mr. Coleman: R. H. Tawney, *Business and Politics in the Reign of James I*. But altogether, these essays demonstrate that Tawney’s humanized economic history is still flourishing. Several of the authors have a go at the “Protestant ethic” and the “spirit of capitalism” as if these concepts were ideological quirks of the Master. But what they really say, it seems to me, is only what Tawney long ago said about Weber. The “Tawney thesis” stands firm.

Rutgers University

RICHARD SCHLATTER

TUDOR SECRETARY: SIR WILLIAM PETRE AT COURT AND HOME. By F. G. Emmison. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. xx, 364. \$8.50.) F. G. Emmison has produced a portrait of Sir William Petre, principal secretary to four Tudor monarchs, in the Van Eyck tradition: detailed, loving, meticulous, and perfect to the last particular, yet strangely lacking in warmth and vitality. If Sir William has eluded his biographer, the responsibility, in large measure, rests with the subject, for the reticent and unassuming ways of this Tudor bureaucrat have conspired to frustrate those who would penetrate behind the pleasant public profile which he so scrupulously maintained. Yet the very qualities that have transformed Sir William into an elusive pimpernel are the same that have made him so interesting to historians. His is the perfect Tudor success story where efficiency, honesty, and an acute sense of self-preservation produced lasting results—the founding of a landed family. The price of success was a union of acquiescence and hard work, and William Petre succeeded because his ambitions were modest, his efficiency and intelligence considerable, and his industry monumental. He was a follower, not a leader, the faithful bureaucrat whose considered opinions may have modified, but never determined state policy. Sir William’s life is unique as well as edifying because he left to posterity the material for an extensive economic profile, and almost despite his biographer a wonderfully intimate image of Petre emerges from the desiderata of invoices, audit rolls, and estate and household accounts. As one might expect, the record reveals a kind master, an astute steward, and an able administrator whose file clerk mind and passion for details help to explain why, in his public life, Sir William was always the senior official and never the crown’s *alter rex*. It is on the level of the economic man that the story is most rewarding. He who would search, however, for the secret of Petre’s character in Emmison’s biography must dig for himself. Such informative tidbits as that Sir William dined and bowled, yet strictly enforced on his own estates the laws against such wasteful pastimes is relegated

to a footnote. The episode is revealing since it points not to hypocrisy but to a simple faith in the organic and ordered nature of society and in the double standard between those who are born to lead and those who are destined to toil. Even more fascinating is the evidence that Petre never received monetary bribes. It is sometimes said that every man in Tudor England had his price, but evidently Sir William, unless he was even more adept at accounts than the records indicate, was not for hire. Emmison may not be a Boswell, but he is certainly a fine scholar who has written a book of great value. Sir William Petre may not have been a statesman of the first order, but he was an honest bureaucrat whose loyalty and industry made him indispensable to four monarchs and whose meticulous accounts have made him equally valuable to modern historians.

Northwestern University

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH

A TUDOR TRAGEDY: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CATHERINE HOWARD. By *Lacey Baldwin Smith*. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1961. Pp. 222. \$4.50.) In this skillful and absorbing account of the life and times of Henry VIII's fifth wife, Professor Smith has combined solid scholarship and stylistic charm in a manner reminiscent of Garrett Mattingly. "And times" should be stressed because Catherine Howard was not important in herself and might have vanished without trace if she had not caught the eye of her aging but still enthusiastic sovereign. It was her family that was important, and Smith rightly makes the Howard dynasty the protagonist of his story. The Howard males were politicians rather than statesmen, occasionally good soldiers, but off the battlefield, inveterate intriguers, whose crookedness frequently led them to the scaffold; the Howard women were, too often, like Catherine, appetizing, featherheaded, and corrupt. The women were expected to contribute to the family greatness by marrying well; to that end Catherine was reared in the vast household of her stepgrandmother, the dowager Duchess, a ménage that Smith compares to a boarding school. In one respect it was different: Catherine acquired rather more firsthand knowledge of men than any modern headmistress would permit, not that the Duchess knew of all the goings on in the dormitory on the upper floor. At the age of eighteen Catherine emerged; her family got her an appointment at court; seven months later she was Henry's wife; twenty more, and she was dead. In recounting this story Smith tells us also about the King—Pollard's rather than Elton's—the capital, and the court, with its surface glitter and its vicious undercurrents. None of these things are treated in depth—this is a short book—but they are treated accurately. The only slip I noticed is a misstatement of the statute of 1542: henceforth the King's wife did not have to be a virgin when he married her, as Smith says, but merely chaste (Catherine Parr was a widow). This is an informative and delightful book.

University of Illinois

MAURICE LEE, JR.

ELIZABETH I AND THE RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT OF 1559. By *Carl S. Meyer*. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House. 1960. Pp. viii, 182. \$4.95.) Since 1950 when Sir John Neale taught us that Elizabeth I's first Parliament was infested with Puritans bent on pressing her toward a more "godly religion," a reappraisal of the Elizabethan religious settlement has been wanting. Dr. Meyer's work represents a first step toward filling this need. Introductory both in character and sources, however, the book leaves many questions unanswered. Its nine chapters range evenly over the settlement. The first and the last, on the Queen and on the Thirty-Nine Articles, emphasize the Lutheran character of Anglicanism. The two on the establishment supplement Neale's work; the last four deal with its effect upon clergy, laity, Catholics, and Puritans. Meyer is clearly at his best when dealing with liturgy and people. The text is marred, however, by a consistent use of the term "Genevans" when referring to the Marian

exiles. As fewer than one-fourth of them ever saw Geneva during 1553-1558 (Anthony Cooke, whom Meyer sees as parliamentary leader of the "Genevan way" did not), this phrase perpetuates a myth that should be discarded. Meyer does see the origins of Puritanism in the 1559 Westminster Dispute, when the Protestants urged preaching in "vulgar tongues" and the right of "every particular church" to alter religious services. Eight of these "Protestants or Puritans" became Elizabethan bishops. The author errs on some of their consecration dates, Guest becoming a bishop on March 24, 1560, not January 21, along with "Will Barkley" (Gilbert Berkeley) and "John [*sic*] Bentham" (Thomas Bentham). Parkhurst and Best were consecrated on March 2, 1561, not in 1560. Fourteen rather than twelve of the early bishops were continental exiles. The preface suggests a heavy concentration on "theological problems." Yet Meyer is content to write unconvincingly about "Melancthonian" influences on Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker. Nowhere in the book does one sense the subtle theological complexity of this period. Elizabethan Protestantism was a healthy crossbreed of Zwingli, Bucer, and Calvin, with a slight Lutheran foliage at the top. Meyer would do us a service if in the future he planted the Lutheran flower a bit deeper.

Folger Shakespeare Library

A. J. CARLSON

SOMERSET 1625-1640: A COUNTY'S GOVERNMENT DURING THE "PERSONAL RULE." By *Thomas Garden Barnes*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 369. \$7.50.) Mr. Thomas Garden Barnes describes in this book, which is a model of clear presentation, the government of one English county, Somerset, during the personal rule of King Charles I. The detailed picture illuminates a larger theme, for the opposition which brought the King's rule to an end came ultimately from the men in whose hands local government lay. The formidable opposition that faced the King when the Long Parliament met in 1640 was made up to a great extent of those very gentry on whom he had depended, as justices of the peace and sheriffs, to implement his policies. This thorough and well-documented study shows how this dangerous situation developed. The King's orders were not only unpopular, but there were also far too many of them. After the attempt to implement the Poor Law more fully came the imposition of ship money and finally the levying of troops for war on Scotland. The persistent multiplication of demands by the crown laid too heavy a burden on the justices, sheriffs, and deputy lieutenants in the counties. Besides, the more conscientiously they carried out their duties the more they earned the dislike of their neighbors. Even the most loyal were beginning to crack by 1640. More significant still, the younger generation of landowners, seeing nothing but expense, overwork, and unpopularity in offices of local responsibility, could not be persuaded to come forward to take them. In Somerset, leadership was divided between about twenty-five families of substantial gentry. Apart from two lawless regions, the Mendip mines and the waterlogged area of Sedgemoor, it was a reasonably well-governed county, very suitable for such a study as Barnes has undertaken. Making allowances for the particular workings of local antagonisms and interests, the general pattern of cumulative critical resentment of the royal government among the gentry could be paralleled in most English counties. This careful and deeply interesting single study therefore casts a steady and searching beam of light on the collapse of the King's government and the causes of the English Civil War.

London, England

C. V. WEDGWOOD

ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND, 1629 MAY-1630 MAY. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1960. Pp. viii, 473. \$19.30.) American scholars profit greatly as each succeeding volume

of *Acts of the Privy Council* is published. The archivists of the Public Record Office continue in their productive labor with two useful innovations, a table giving the dates of the Privy Council meetings and a list of councilors present. This particular volume covers a critical thirteen-month period during which the Privy Council met ninety-nine times and was confronted by a succession of problems. Military matters occupy considerable space, ranging from arrears of pay and pensions to providing volunteers for the king of Sweden to use against Catholic Europe, and food and supply for the United Provinces. The most important entries testify to depression in the East Anglia cloth industry and the government's untiring but unsuccessful effort to provide some relief and readjustment. Serious disorders in Essex, Leeds, York, and London were examined by the Council. Some inhabitants of Lincolnshire rioted, hoping to block the drainage projects of Vermuyden. The Council summoned over two hundred persons to appear before the board and continually sent instructions to local officials. This volume indicates the broad nature of the problems that confronted the government of Charles I and reveals the most serious failure of the personal reign: policy followed as reaction to political or economic difficulties and largely a matter of improvisation.

University of Richmond

JOHN R. RILLING

CALENDAR OF TREASURY BOOKS, JANUARY-DECEMBER 1711, PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Volume XXV, Part 2, TREASURY MINUTES, WARRANTS, ETC., WITH INDEX. Prepared by *William A. Shaw*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1961. Pp. 843. \$26.95.) Part Two of Volume XXV of the *Calendar of Treasury Books* completes the calendaring of Treasury records for the year 1711. It covers minutes, warrants, orders, out-letters, and a register of papers read at the Treasury. Part One, consisting largely of accounts, appeared in 1952. The *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, in-letters, prepared by Joseph Redington, was published more than seventy years ago. The present volume sustains the late Dr. Shaw's reputation for full and meticulous editing. Members of the staff of the Public Record Office have provided an excellent index. The calendar, therefore, is more than a guide to original records. From it one can obtain information about the great events of 1711: the rise of Harley to the position of Lord High Treasurer, the disastrous Canadian expedition, the chartering of the South Sea Company, for example, and, of course, the development of Treasury organization and procedures.

Chambersburg, Pennsylvania

DORA MAE CLARK

THE CHURCHILLS: FROM THE DEATH OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE PRESENT. By *A. L. Rowse*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1958. Pp. xiii, 430. \$7.50.) In 1956 appeared *The Early Churchills: An English Family* in which Rowse told the history of this West Country family, of yeoman-farmer origins, up to the death of the Duke of Marlborough, the first great Churchill. This volume carries on the history from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, and her grandsons, through Sir Winston Churchill's tremendous years. The two volumes should be regarded and read as one, for only thus can be seen the mystery that fascinated Rowse. Why is it that this one family, within a period of only three hundred years, should have produced two men to whom England, at critical times in its history, owed so much? Other houses in England, notably the Cecils, can boast a succession of distinguished servants of the crown, but no other has two such names as these in its roster. What was there in the stock of the Churchills, or hidden in the family history, that might explain this striking and unrivaled family achievement? Both Rowse and his readers know that there is no answer to such a question. With full awareness of the loftiness of the characters with

whom he deals, he has made as honest an attempt as any living writer could. He sees the aesthetic Spencer strain, which came into the family in the 1730's, as more dominating than the Churchill until the advent of Sir Winston Churchill himself. Someday some historian trained in psychology may try to analyze, according to some already prepared chart of greatness, those traits of character which members of the family exhibited during their lives, in varying degrees of emphasis, and may come up with what might seem to be a more scientific answer. But even then readers will return to these two volumes for the sympathy, the judgments, and, above all, the incomparable charm of style that they possess. Rowse has been given access to the family correspondence at Blenheim, and though these centuries are not those which he most loves, he has gone through the standard published collections of source materials. He has treated with conscientious care each member of the family. There is enough detail to satisfy all but the specialist, with quotations from personal letters and from account books. All the Spencer-Churchills, enjoying the wealth and place that the dukedom brought them, reflected the characteristics of the age in which they lived. In the extravagant Regency days none gambled more gaily nor collected books and pictures more assiduously than they, and in the Victorian era the seventh duke was as pious and moralistic as his fellows. And always the weight of Blenheim lay upon this family; Rowse appreciates what the responsibility for this great house and estate has meant to its owners. A third of the book is devoted to the life and career of the greatest of the Churchills.

Newberry Library

STANLEY PARGELLIS

THE LIFE OF HENRY BROUGHAM TO 1830. By *Chester W. New*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 458. \$8.00.) This first of a projected two-volume biography which Professor New did not live to finish is the product of many years' research by a Canadian historian who came to the study of early nineteenth-century Whiggism through his interest in the Anglo-Canadian statesman, John Lambton, first Earl of Durham. New finds his way through Whig society and politics with an easy familiarity. Being the first scholar to make large use of the Brougham MSS. in University College London, he has unearthed much that was not previously known. It is a great pity indeed that death cut his work short, although it did not prevent the completion of his researches and the gathering of his materials which (according to his publisher) will be used by another scholar to bring the work to an end. New's avowed intention was to remind us that his hero was no mere politician, but a great humanitarian reformer. This he has done admirably. Nowhere else is such a detailed story told of Brougham, early associate of the Clapham sect, colleague of Buxton and Macaulay in the final struggle for emancipation of the slaves, champion of popular education, promoter of Mechanics' Institutes, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and London University, and reformer of the law. The reader may well conclude, however, that in correcting the conventional picture of Brougham, the author has still missed something of value. His omissions may in part be the result of faulty presentation. There is some unnecessary repetition, too much use of speeches, and too many source references in the text. The result is that one important theme in Brougham's public career—that of Brougham the organizer of the new age of public opinion and the schoolmaster of aristocratic Whiggism—does not emerge with sufficient clarity; New might have learned more from Walter Bagehot than it seems he has done. Brougham the man also remains something of a shadowy figure. Though some of his misdemeanors are frankly admitted, he is rescued from some of the worst charges leveled against him. New is not the sort of innocent biographer, still common enough, who tells a tale of unblemished virtue. But this is as far as he goes. Brougham was not mad, the author assures us, only strange and eccentric. More systematic exploration of Brougham's eccentric person-

ality would have enhanced the value of this work. Still it is a valuable book to which we shall refer with profit for a long time.

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID SPRING

FATHERS OF THE VICTORIANS: THE AGE OF WILBERFORCE. By *Ford K. Brown*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. 568. \$9.50.) Brown's book has glaring weaknesses. It is haphazardly organized, it is filled with irrelevancies and repetitious material, and it is at least twice as long as it should be. Its treatment of William Wilberforce and his fellow evangelicals is excessively sympathetic, almost to the point of idolatry. Nor does the author make any serious attempt to understand or explain why Wilberforce and his followers were so hated and ridiculed by their enemies. Brown accepts as true his hero's hostile view of his age, and so the result is a frequently questionable portrait of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England. Nevertheless, the book will be helpful to scholars in the field of modern British history because it quotes so many substantial passages from a large body of rare printed materials that it is virtually a source book, and it reproduces some invaluable lists of names of individuals and organizations, many of them long and unjustly forgotten, which were contemporary with Wilberforce's evangelicalism.

Columbia University

HERMAN AUSUBEL

BRITAIN'S IMPERIAL ROLE IN THE RED SEA AREA, 1800-1878. By *Thomas E. Marston*. (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 550. \$10.00.) The outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation written before World War II under the direction of William L. Langer at Harvard, this lengthy monograph is one of a series of foreign area studies now being published under the auspices of Yale University. The area concerned is "the Hadramaut, the Yemen, the Asir country in Arabia, the Somali coast north of Cape Guardafui, the Dankali country, the territory around Annesley Bay (Massawa), and Abyssinia. . . ." The period covered is a significant one. In 1799 British naval and military units made their first appearance in the Red Sea area. By 1878 the opening of the Suez Canal had attracted the attention of other imperialist powers to that region, and Britain had to realize that it was no longer possible to maintain its exclusive dominance there. Though obviously the product of painstaking research, this book is rather uneven in quality. The first half, essentially Marston's original dissertation, follows the India Office and Foreign Office records unduly closely and suffers from loose organization and infelicitous writing. The chapters added later are considerably superior: they are based on a richer variety of sources, the material is better digested, and the writing is much more coherent. There are numerous typographical errors. The two end maps, which are identical, are scarcely adequate for a study of this type, and the spelling of place names on the maps does not always conform to the text. Occasional inconsistencies are also evident (for example, the absolute power of the Imam of San'a), and there are a few minor factual errors (like the date of the Battle of Adowa). This volume, therefore, represents an opportunity *manqué*. Marston offers much new information about a long-isolated and neglected area and about nineteenth-century British imperialist policy. Inadequate revision and careless editing, however, considerably diminish the value of his achievement.

Rutgers University

SYDNEY H. ZEBEL

THE FRIENDLY SOCIETIES IN ENGLAND, 1815-1875. By *P. H. J. H. Gosden*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1961. Pp. x, 262. \$6.50.) It seems a little odd, given the interest of twentieth-century historians in the British working-class movement, that this book was not written years ago. Most mid-Victorians thought of friendly societies as the most admirable and constructive of working-class organizations. By 1875 the societies

had about four million members, the two greatest of the affiliated orders, the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows and the Ancient Order of Foresters, together accounting for nearly a million, and they had already been the subject of nineteen regulatory acts and of inquiry by five parliamentary committees and one royal commission. To the Victorians the friendly society, in which systematic mutual assistance was nicely blended with the attractions of the workingman's club and the mythologies and mysteries of the lodge, was a mechanism by which the working classes would attain independence and self-respect, all without the degrading assistance of the state. Mr. Gosden's thorough and judicious study—the first of consequence since Baernreither's *English Associations of Working Men*, which seventy-five years ago echoed the Victorian hymn to self-help—sees the complex network of friendly societies as the attempt of workingmen to cope with the hazards of life in a raw industrial society. Their development roughly paralleled that of trade-unions, from local trade clubs to the great affiliated orders. This amalgamating trend was the dominant feature of friendly society history, but there were still local and county societies, certain specialized bodies, such as the burial societies, and the more impersonal centralized insurance societies, such as the Hearts of Oak. One of Gosden's more illuminating sections has to do with the problem of financial stability. Although, whenever a society collapsed, the air was full of charges of dishonesty, the main factor was "usually the simple one of too much benefit for too little contribution." The painful experience of some of the societies both underlined the need for reliable actuarial tables and provided data on which these could be based.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

THE VICTORIANS. By Sir Charles Petrie. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1961. Pp. 270. \$6.75.) British nineteenth-century social development has undergone so much general analysis that one can hardly expect any profound revelations from a scholar who has not devoted a diligent life to it. But Sir Charles Petrie has contrived to illuminate some aspects from an oblique angle and to make some shrewd points. He arouses exasperation and approval simultaneously. He makes no attempt to cover the whole subject nor even to confine himself to what is relevant. He finds room to trace Christmas trees from the mid-eighteenth century and wines from the Middle Ages and to relate amusing anecdotes that will leave many readers' gravity unruffled. In the main, except for his discussion of women (which is fairly comprehensive, dealing with governesses, dressmakers, and women in industry as well as those of higher rank), he restricts his attention to the upper classes. The industrial working classes generally get little notice. The use of tobacco is treated solely as a concern of royalty, the upper classes, and London club life. Ireland has a chapter devoted largely to the land and nationalist problems, religion receiving little attention, but the story of Scotland, which has another chapter, is dealt with almost entirely in terms of the troubles experienced by Scottish Presbyterianism. The rest of the chapter on Scotland takes the form of a three-page attack on Macaulay and a few letters about Balmoral. In short, the emphasis is uneven, perhaps wisely so. If the chapter on "leisure" seems full of trivia and irrelevancies, not without some logical fallacies, at least public hangings have their place as an early Victorian spectator sport. Cricket and a little horse racing are the only other outdoor sports discussed for this great age of shooting and fox hunting. Contrary to ample evidence, Petrie declares that Prince Albert took "no interest in sport"; he repeats, without endorsing, rumors of the Prince Consort's treason; at the same time he does full justice to Albert's sincerity and constructive work. His best chapter, that on Liverpool, brings out the problems of an expanding seaport. On the whole, the book may be described as chatty but useful.

Brown University

CHESTER KIRBY

THE CHARITY ORGANISATION SOCIETY, 1869-1913: ITS IDEAS AND WORK. By *Charles Loch Mowat*. (London: Methuen and Company. 1961. Pp. xii, 188. 25s.) The London Charity Organisation Society was the embodiment of an outspoken social philosophy which, though no longer dominant in public policy, is still implicit in the thinking of millions. It was at once a local charitable society, a national promotional organization, and the nucleus of a world-wide missionary effort. It was the fountainhead of a stream of literature and personal interpretation which nurtured similar societies, notably in the United States. It was at odds with Sidney and Beatrice Webb in a prolonged controversy over the Poor Law. At the center of its activities from 1875 to 1913 was its secretary, C. S. Loch, widely regarded as the foremost authority in the world on charity. Professor Mowat, Loch's grandson, has undertaken to present, in 177 pages of text, a systematic account of this multifaceted organization down to Loch's retirement. He has touched on many topics, including its intellectual and social background, philosophy, and activities, key individuals, the struggle with the socialist philosophy of social welfare, the COS as the hub of a world-wide movement, and the transformation of a voluntary effort into a professionalized service. Annual reports and other COS publications were the principal sources, supplemented by family papers of Loch, and publications of such contemporaries as the Webbs, Helen Bosanquet, and Henrietta Barnett. Those familiar with this material, most of which, apart from the personal papers, is generally available, will not find much that is new, but the volume does provide an organized, if kaleidoscopic, picture of the COS in the perspective of its times. Occasional excursions into unpublished materials suggest additional insights about both internal and external relationships that await revelation. Whether due to the pressures of space, or because the primary vantage point is that of the inner circle of the COS, terms that were familiar in COS usage are frequently incorporated without desirable interpretation. This is especially true of tabular material, but also in reference to "the prosperous 1890's" and other judgments. One wishes Mowat could have stood a few yards further away from his subject. Nevertheless the book represents a useful addition to the literature about philanthropy, the Poor Law, and the philosophy of individualism.

Washington University

RALPH E. PUMPHREY

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. First Series, Volume XI, UPPER SILESIA, POLAND, AND THE BALTIC STATES, JANUARY 1920-MARCH 1921. Edited by *Rohan Butler* and *J. P. T. Bury*. Assisted by *M. E. Lambert*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1961. Pp. lxxvi, 747. \$13.85 postpaid.) This volume contains no surprises and little that is new. Concerned with British policy in Eastern Europe, it is divided into a 200-page chapter on the plebiscite in Upper Silesia and a 550-page chapter on Poland, Danzig, and the Baltic States. The section on Upper Silesia opens with a challenging search for a needle in a haystack, as Earl Curzon seeks appointment as the ecclesiastical representative, of a native of Silesia acknowledged to be without leanings on the future nationality of the area. It illustrates the balance and skill with which Colonel Percival, the British representative on the Plebiscite Commission, went about his difficult job. The core of the second chapter, which culminates in the Treaty of Riga, is the British reaction to the Russo-Polish War, closely intertwined with the vexed question of the future of Lithuania and the equally tangled issue of the fate of the Baltic States in relation to Soviet Russia. Its other major theme is the position of Danzig, under temporary Allied administration and deeply involved in the controversy over transfer of supplies to the Polish armies. The documents spell out the British search for stability in the face of almost constant exasperation at Polish intransigence and, from the British standpoint, irresponsibility. They

reveal quite clearly the deep rift between Britain and France in the East and how eagerly the Poles exploited these differences. The most dramatic thread is the transformation from bleak pessimism as the Red armies marched to the gates of Warsaw into almost unbelieving relief at the Polish counteroffensive masterminded by General Weygand. British attempts to counsel moderation to the elated Poles can be seen to bear some fruit in the Riga negotiations, but differences with France militated against any success in meliorating the effects of General Zeligowski's "unauthorized" seizure of Vilna. Most of this has been well known, but the documents as usual convey an impression of immediacy largely missing from the secondhand accounts that they help to bring to life.

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

EUROPE

ENGLAND AND ITALY, 1859-60. By *Derek Beales*. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1961. Pp. xii, 196. 18s.) This neat and effective monograph covers the very interesting subject of the making of British policy on Italian unification during the extraordinarily swift changes of 1859-1860. Derek Beales has concentrated on his central theme, wisely avoiding undue treatment of the well-known dramatic events, and he has produced a well-organized, sound, and well-written study of the responses of cabinet officers and crown. It is a significant subject on which to examine British policy formation at the cabinet level. British interests were very much affected, not only in sympathy with the cause of the Italian people and concern for the future status of the peninsula, but also with respect to balance and peace in Europe. Beales has made good use of the considerable body of old and new publications and has gone to the private papers of the principal participants in British cabinet decisions. His account should be definitive. As Beales emphasizes, the consistent concern of the British government was not so much sympathy with the cause of Italian nationalism as fear of a revival of French aggrandizement under Napoleon III. In this respect, Lord Malmesbury, the Conservative Foreign Minister in the early part of 1859, had much in common with Lord John Russell, his successor in the Liberal cabinet that followed the election of 1859, held while France and Austria were at war. The author concludes that the Italian question, for all the public interest in it, was not a decisive factor in this election. In the new cabinet of Lord Palmerston, some were ready for direct intervention in order to ensure that the Italian states would not become dependent on France; others considered that an alliance with Napoleon III would best serve to limit him; still others regarded a German alliance as the surest check. It was cabinet consideration of these matters, demanded by the court for almost every proposal, that produced the policy of nonintervention and non-alignment, not detachment, which was actually followed and was singularly successful. Russell's dispatch of October 27, 1860, giving British benediction to the union of almost the whole peninsula, which Garibaldi's campaigns had made possible and which the plebiscites had confirmed as the will of the people, was the notable exception. The Queen, feeling that this dispatch was less extreme than she had feared, did not insist on cabinet consultation, and it was sent off with the Prime Minister's approval. At this crucial juncture, Britain's support for what had been achieved virtually ruled out any European intervention to set back the clock. One may reflect that this satisfactory outcome was perhaps misleadingly easy. Four years later, the same cabinet was far less effective in dealing with the Danish question.

Tufts University

ALBERT H. IMLAH

THE ARTIST AND SOCIAL REFORM: FRANCE AND BELGIUM, 1885-1898. By *Eugenia W. Herbert*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 74.] (New Haven,

Conn.: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 236, 23 plates. \$5.00.) Eugenia W. Herbert has written, and the Yale Press has published, an excellent dissertation upon a rather neglected subject. The social and political ideas of artists are known to exist, but what they are or were, and how they affected society and art remain for the most part guesswork and vague generality. Here in a half-dozen well-organized chapters the author surveys and digests the utterances of three schools of French and Belgian artists embracing the writers, painters, and sculptors who lived in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. She has scoured the literature, both original and secondary, and she provides a clear account of socialist, anarchist, syndicalist, and reformist thought as it mingled with or arose from artistic innovation. A brief epilogue on the Dreyfus affair and its sequelae attempts to translate the reader into the new century. At the same time as one is grateful for this intelligent review of opinions that are no longer fighting issues, one regrets that the newness of the subject at large should leave every isolated student of it to form his own categories and principles. The early part of this book especially shows the weakness that results: it can be stated as the failure to understand the role of political ideas in the mind of the artist. To be sure, artists differ among themselves, but just as we generalize about the politics of an economic class, so we should draw inferences from the political and social notions of artists. These inferences cannot be the same as if artists were identical with businessmen or laborers. There is a political meaning in the very fact of being an artist. The present book ventures a good many generalities in ignorance of this truth and must therefore be used with caution whenever it leaves description for conclusions.

Columbia University

JACQUES BARZUN

THE JURISTIC BASIS OF DYNASTIC RIGHT TO THE FRENCH THRONE.

By *Ralph E. Giesey*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LI, Part 5.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1961. Pp. 47. \$1.50.) In this brief study Professor Giesey investigates the contributions that divine, canon, feudal, customary, Salic, and Roman law made toward the development of the law of the succession to the French crown that emerged during the Renaissance. In some cases Giesey merely summarizes existing knowledge; in others, as in the influence of Roman law, he provides new information. On the whole his arguments are convincing, although one could wish that he had not limited his treatment of the contributions of the post-1550 theorists to Du Moulin, Bodin, Hotman, and Loyseau and that in his analysis of the influence of customary law he had relied less on the theorists and more on the customs themselves. Had he done so, he would not have overemphasized the rights of the eldest son under customary law. Nevertheless, the virtues of Giesey's study outweigh its faults. One is especially interested to learn of Bodin's poor treatment of dynastic right, of the contributions of *Terre Rouge* and Hotman to this problem, and of the theoretical importance of the emergence of the concept of the princes of the blood.

Emory University

J. RUSSELL MAJOR

CORRESPONDANCE DE BABEUF AVEC L'ACADÉMIE D'ARRAS (1785-

1788). Published under the direction of *Marcel Reinhard*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris, Series "Textes," Volume I.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France for the Institut d'Histoire de la Révolution Française. 1961. Pp. x, 165. 18 new fr.) The incumbent of the Aulard Chair at the Sorbonne provides this first complete edition of a major original source for the personal life, religious beliefs, and social and agrarian ideas of Babeuf on the eve of the Revolution. It throws an entirely different light on the relation of Babeuf with Dubois de Fosseux, secretary of

the *Académie d'Arras*. Fosseux's letters were addressed to a long list of correspondents, and only certain passages (here carefully distinguished by the editor) were directed to Babeuf alone. These ingenious composite circulars illustrate the diffusion of ideas. Meticulously edited definitive texts (hitherto unpublished) of Babeuf's replies, plus references and index, provide an indispensable tool for specialists.

University of Florida

DAVID L. DOWD

ADRIENNE: OU LA VIE DE MME. DE LA FAYETTE. By *André Maurois*. (Paris: Hachette. 1960. Pp. 570.) ADRIENNE: THE LIFE OF THE MARQUISE DE LA FAYETTE. By *André Maurois*. Translated by *Gerard Hopkins*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1961. Pp. xii, 482. \$7.95.) Maurois' books always make delightful reading, and this one is no exception, either in the original French or in the excellent English translation. To a greater extent than in his other books, Maurois has made this one more useful to scholars by documentation, a bibliography, and index. His life of the Marquise de Lafayette is based in part on materials, some recently discovered, at the estate to which Lafayette returned in 1799, the Château de La Grange-Bléneau, some forty-three miles southeast of Paris. He succeeds in bringing both Adrienne and her husband into clearer focus, but does not modify to any great extent the outline of their lives as we already know them. To the scholar, both French and American editions are disappointing, especially in view of the publicity in the press as to the extent of the discoveries at La Grange. The existence of the library, papers, and souvenirs in one of the towers has long been known, well enough, in fact, to have been mentioned in guidebooks. In the tradition of the great private collections of France, an occasional scholar had been permitted to browse. As the present owners do not plan to allow general access until arrangement and cataloguing are completed, the potential value of the contents cannot now be estimated. It is unclear how much is involved in the recent "discoveries." About half the citations are from manuscript sources, about a third being from La Grange and well over a sixth from other collections. The remaining notes, or about half the total, are from published works. The French edition distinguishes published from unpublished documents by means of footnotes conveniently placed on the same page. The American publisher has relegated footnotes to the end of the book in such a way as to insure maximum exasperation. As the bibliography in the American edition contains only twelve items in contrast to some four pages in the French edition, one depends extensively on the notes. But one searches in vain for explanation of such references as "Collection de Mme. A. Balleyguier" and "Collection Jean Fremageot." Several American collections of Lafayette materials have been overlooked, and while the French edition acknowledges a debt to four of Professor Gottschalk's books, only one is mentioned in the American edition. A French reference to one of those omitted appears in the American edition as from the "Morizot papers, University of Chicago Libraries." Such devices limit the usefulness of the American edition. The French edition is far superior to it.

Frederick, Maryland

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN

UN GÉNÉRAL DE NAPOLEON: MIOLLIS. By *Henri Auréas*. Preface by *Marcel Dunan*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Number 143.] (Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1961. Pp. 210.) In this meticulous monograph, prepared as a doctoral thesis, Henri Auréas has reconstructed the career of a Napoleonic general and administrator who missed fame by a narrow margin. Sextius-Alexandre-François Miollis is remembered chiefly as the general who issued the order for the arrest of Pius VII in 1809. Whether he acted on secret instructions from Napoleon or on his own responsibility (as Napoleon subsequently asserted) has remained a matter of

dispute. Auréas supports the conclusion "qu'il n'avait reçu aucun ordre secret de l'Empereur." As a youth of twenty-one, Miollis served with the French contingent in the siege of Yorktown where he was wounded. Eight years later, when the French Revolution broke out, he supported it unselfishly and fought in the revolutionary wars. He served in Italy with Napoleon, who later appointed him governor of various Italian cities. But he lacked talent, particularly the talent for self-advancement, and his rigid probity and austerity made him a difficult colleague. Auréas, though sympathetic to Miollis, dissects his character and career with a precise and dispassionate objectivity suited to his subject. He has produced a biography commendable for its research, documentation, and exacting scholarship, but uninspiring in its subject matter and its style.

Ithaca, New York

GEOFFREY BRUUN

MÉMOIRAL DE SAINTE-HÉLÈNE. In two volumes. By *Emmanuel de Las Cases*. Edited with introduction, bibliography, and notes by *André Fugier*. (Paris: Garnier Frères. 1961. Pp. liv, 910; 940.) Of the various memorials from St. Helena published by Napoleon's companions in exile, that of Las Cases was perhaps the most persuasive and certainly the most readable. Revised and reissued several times during the lifetime of Las Cases, his *Mémorial* appeared in an annotated, critical edition with variant readings in 1951, edited by Marcel Dunan. The current edition, in effect, presents Dunan's work to the general reading public; it accepts, for the most part, the text he established, lightens the annotations, and adds illustrations and a perceptive introduction. The popularization combines scholarly integrity and grace.

Duke University

HAROLD T. PARKER

JOURNAL, 1846-1869. Volume II, 1861-1869. By *Émile Ollivier*. Text chosen and annotated by *Theodore Zeldin* and *Anne Troisier de Diaz*. (Paris: René Julliard. 1961. Pp. 488. 19.50 new fr.) These selections from the final portion of Ollivier's diary offer valuable information not only about the activities and attitudes of their important author, but also about the republican opposition and the later Empire as a whole, for Ollivier was a penetrating and attractive observer of people and trends. Ollivier's behavior as Premier is not directly discussed, though a few post-1870 documents are included. Nonetheless, the possibility of accepting a position in the imperial government existed as early as 1861 and is a unifying theme in the diary, forcing Ollivier constantly to define his attitude toward empire and toward liberalism. Consistently he valued both and hoped to reconcile both, for he was a liberal who "would always prefer progress to upheaval."

Harvard University

PETER N. STEARNS

KING AND CHURCH: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PATRONATO REAL. By *W. Eugene Shiels, S.J.* [Jesuit Studies.] (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 399. \$6.00.) This historical survey of Spanish royal control over the Church in the American colonies and, ultimately, all Spain itself presents three principal aspects. The first is the extended discussion of the ideological and historical background for Julius II's Indian *patronato* grant of 1508: the Middle Ages, Portuguese Africa, Ferdinand and Isabella's Granadan crusade, and the American bulls of Alexander VI. The second is an account of the actual working of crown ecclesiastical supremacy in the secular Church and the orders throughout the colonial period, particularly under Ferdinand, Charles V, and Philip II. Lastly, the volume assembles a substantial number of papal and other relevant texts in both the original and in English translation. The translations, embedded in the narrative, contain too high a percentage of errors to be relied upon,

and the weak pre-1508 chapters reflect unfamiliarity with the problems and literature involved. Thus the book's contribution lies in its colonial portion, where despite undue emphasis upon New Spain and inadequate attention to the later Habsburg and Bourbon eras, it is usefully informative. Assessment of regalist and papalist positions is usually balanced, but the work does not meet the pressing need for a dependable general guide to this important subject.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

LA HISTORIA DE ESPAÑA EN SUS DOCUMENTOS (NUEVA SERIE). EL SIGLO XX. [Volume I, 1900-1923.] By *Fernando Díaz-Plaja*. (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos. 1960. Pp. xi, 510. 225 pesetas.) The author's purpose is to give the Spanish reader a sense of the atmosphere of his own contemporary history. The documents are arranged in strictly chronological order, without commentary or interpretation. There are neither table of contents nor index. The student of Spanish history will find interesting and useful data on the movements of the royal family, on the activities of the army, and on the role of the police in handling strikes and demonstrations. But the anthologist virtually omits social, economic, religious, and political questions except as these relate to public order. Concerning the *Semana Trágica* in Barcelona, 1909, he prints the full military report which mentions all the units taking part in the fighting, names the streets where riots occurred, and estimates the numbers of dead and injured. He offers European editorial reaction to the execution of Francisco Ferrer as selected by *ABC*, but does not quote the originals. And the reader will find virtually nothing about Catalan nationalism, anarchism, or the social effects in Spain of the continuous war in Morocco. Regarding the disaster at Annual in 1921, the author prints the War Office note concerning the retreat of General Silvestre, together with *ABC* editorial comment. But, in editing the text, he does not show the reader how much is official announcement and how much is the *ABC* writer's version. It is a great pity that this book should be so poorly edited and the documents so tendentiously selected. The decades covered were rich in significant events, but this volume continues a kind of "Ruritania" tradition in Spanish historiography.

Knox College

GABRIEL JACKSON

THE TRAVELS OF THE INFANTE DOM PEDRO OF PORTUGAL. By *Francis M. Rogers*. [Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, Volume XXVI.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 424. \$7.50.) Those interested in the Portuguese Middle Ages and Renaissance have known for years of Professor Rogers' forthcoming publication on the real and imaginary travels of Prince Pedro, but only those closely acquainted with his investigations could have realized how elaborate a work of scholarship this would be. The historical background is as follows: In 1425 Pedro, second son of João I of Portugal and older brother of Henry the Navigator, believing himself in line for the Portuguese throne because of the delicate health of Prince Duarte, undertook travels to broaden his mind. He visited England, Flanders, Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Italy, and the Spanish kingdoms, and for a time helped Emperor Sigismund fight the Turks. Returning home in 1428, he had ultimately to limit his regal aspirations to acting as regent for his nephew, Afonso V. Finally quarreling with the young King, he rebelled and was killed at the Battle of Alfarrobeira in 1449, having meanwhile assisted Prince Henry to a degree even now unappreciated in the sponsorship of geographical discovery. In the course of time Pedro's travels became so blown up in the public mind that he was credited with having visited the seven parts of the world. In the sixteenth century a Spanish writer who called himself Gómez de Santisteban wrote an imaginary account of the Prince's travels, combining elements from Mandeville,

Nicolò de' Conti, and the Prester John story, even including an abridgment of the Prester's famous letter to the Christian West of 1165. The translation and commentary on this work, called *Libro del infante don Pedro*, is the core of Rogers' book. In seeking the real author, Rogers suggests Friar Juan de Carmona, an Andalusian who spent considerable time in the Portuguese East in the sixteenth century and may have been a spy in the service of Charles V. He does not insist on this identification, however, and writes, "Pending confirmation of an admittedly extravagant theory, I shall continue to regard the authorship of the chapbook as anonymous." Although mainly concerned with the fictitious travel narrative, the Rogers work has a broad base. It handles fifteenth-century European diplomacy on a continental European scale, deals with later versions of the Prester John legend, and, perhaps most important of all, greatly contributes to clarification of the relations between Princes Pedro and Henry in their joint work of maritime exploration. The documentation is as nearly exhaustive as possible for this period of history.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. NOWELL

THE PRESTER JOHN OF THE INDIES: A TRUE RELATION OF THE LANDS OF THE PRESTER JOHN. BEING THE NARRATIVE OF THE PORTUGUESE EMBASSY TO ETHIOPIA IN 1520 WRITTEN BY FATHER FRANCISCO ALVARES. In two volumes. The translation of Lord Stanley of Alderley (1881) revised and edited with additional material by C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Numbers 114 and 115.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1961. Pp. xvi, 321; vi, 323-617. \$6.50 each.) This translation of Alvares falls somewhere between the category of a new edition and that of a new work. The base used by Beckingham and Huntingford is the translation made in 1881 by Lord Stanley of Alderley, also for the Hakluyt Society, to which they have added textual material not available then. They have also strengthened their work by adding many notes and by an introduction and appendix showing the great progress made in Ethiopian studies during the last eighty years. Prester John of the Indies is of course the ruler of Abyssinia, and the one encountered here is the important Lebna Dengel (1508-1540), who in 1520 received the Portuguese embassy from India, headed by Rodrigo de Lima. The priest Francisco Alvares accompanied this mission, which remained in the Prester's country for six years, and afterward wrote a long account of Abyssinia-Ethiopia, part of which was published in Lisbon in 1540. In 1953 the Portuguese Agência das Colónias reissued this early edition, which in the meantime had served as a source for Fernão Lopes de Castanheda and João de Barros in the sixteenth century and for Viscount Ficalho in 1898. It is also the one translated by Lord Stanley in 1881. It has long been known that Alvares wrote more about Lebna Dengel's empire than was contained in the 1540 edition. Ramusio, in his *Viaggio fatto nella Etiopia* of 1550, included extra material by Alvares that had reached him through the agency of the Portuguese humanist Damião de Góis. The present editors and partial translators have collated the Ramusio additions with Lord Stanley's text of 1881. Stylistically they have not taken excessive liberties with the earlier English rendition, but they have sometimes altered Stanley's polished Victorian prose to something that better fits the rough style of Alvares and at the same time proves more to the taste of the present-day reader. The modern maps showing Lebna Dengel's Abyssinia are helpful, and the sixteenth-century Giacomo Gastaldi map of East Africa, which is in the end pocket, has seldom appeared on a scale so ample as this.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. NOWELL

DER SPÄTE ERASMUS UND DIE REFORMATION. By *Karl Heinz Oelrich*. [Reformationsgeschichtlich Studien und Texte, Number 86.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1961. Pp. xi, 166. DM 14.60.) This concise monograph on the final lustrum of Erasmus' life, done originally as a Freiburg dissertation under the direction of Ernst Walter Zeeden, describes the humanist's perspectives on the Reformation during his Basle and Freiburg years and analyzes his criticisms of the Reformation in terms of its revolutionary nature, its practical effects, and its doctrinal positions. The dramatic controversy of Erasmus and Luther has tended to obscure the fact that during the last period of his life Erasmus saw the Reformation more immediately in its South German and Swiss manifestations, which led him to associate it more with the *civitates* and with ominous popular forces than with princely territorial reform and with the more moderate reformers. This detailed study, based to a large extent upon the last five volumes of P. S. Allen's edition of the letters, clarifies some significant points and provides new documentation for previously known facts. A further examination of the writings and particularly of the many prefaces dating from this period would have provided an even broader and more secure base for the interesting and basically sound conclusions. The final stay in Basle and relations with the reformers during the last year merit a more extensive treatment than that given here. There is, however, a fresh account of the altercation with Bucer, practically unnoticed by scholars up to now. The year in which the Reformation triumphed in Basle, 1529, emerges as a significant turning point also in the inner life of Erasmus. He turns from speculation on such questions as the relationship of humanism and the Reformation to an unrestrained assault on the reformers. He abandons his own predilection for Oecolampadius' spiritual interpretation of the sacrament in favor of the traditional doctrine of the real presence. His appeal in doing so is not to the Scriptures but to the authority of the Church. The total result of this study, in fact, is to underline the conservative and orthodox Catholic posture of Erasmus during his last years. To the reformers' appeal to conscience and truth he opposed a call for peace and unity.

Stanford University

LEWIS W. SPITZ

SUOMEN TALONPOIKAISSÄÄDYN VALTIOPÄIVÄEDUSTUS VAPAUDEN-AJALLA. By *Toivo J. Paloposki*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Number 57.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1961. Pp. 469.) This is an interesting and competently written study of Finnish representation in the Estate of the Peasants during the Age of Freedom (1723-1772). The size of the Finnish delegation (a majority Swedish-speaking) ranged from 15 to 21 out of a total Estate membership varying in this period from 118 to 174. Not all of the representatives, by any means, met the challenge laid down by the presiding judge at an Åland Islands electoral meeting in 1771 who exhorted the electors, "their hearts all moved by the spirit of the Lord," to choose "a God-fearing, honest, and understanding man as their delegate, to watch over the best interests of the province." Mr. Paloposki focuses on such questions as: What qualifications, both legal and extra-legal (knowledge of Swedish, previous public experience), were required? How were the delegates chosen? How were their expenses met? The last-named problem, of course, was crucial. In 1723 the northern Finland group, for example, urged immediate consideration of their grievances in order that "they could return to their homes at once, for they were poor, the long journey [from Finland] had already consumed a large part of their funds, and moreover Stockholm in their opinion was a very expensive place." The author examines in illuminating detail the preparation and consideration of the grievances of Finnish peasants; the three most important irritations were taxes, restrictions on the sailing privileges of coastal farmers, and the lack of Finnish-speaking officials in Finland. The appendix contains a list of the Finnish delegates to the Estate,

a thirteen-page bibliography of manuscript and published sources, and a short German-language summary.

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

DER STAATSEINFLUSS AUF DEN RUHRKOHLENBERGBAU IN DER ZEIT VON 1800 BIS 1865. By *Hans Dieter Krampe*. [Schriften zur rheinisch-westfälischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte, New Series.] (Cologne: Rheinisch-westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv. 1961. Pp. 219.) A doctoral dissertation, prepared under the auspices of the economic and social science faculty of the University of Cologne, this is a specialized study of the role of the Prussian state in the evolution of the Westphalian coal industry. Actuated mainly by fiscal considerations, the state became deeply involved in the Ruhr coal exploitations. It could determine prospecting rights and surveyed and granted concessions. It planned the methods of exploitation in some detail, was concerned with the procurement of timber and other accessory materials, the construction of shafts and galleries, the transport of both miners and the coal they mined, and, despite an avowed dedication to laissez faire, even undertook to fix coal prices. Notwithstanding the relative wealth that came to both the state and the concessionaires as a result of the former's far-reaching though often benevolent intervention, the mining companies became increasingly restive under the restraints. Hence, already by the mid-nineteenth century, a growing tide of economic liberalism threatened the old system which, in 1865, was superseded by a new mining code incorporating the basic principle of free competition within a broad framework of enlightened state regulation. In this work of thorough and painstaking scholarship, the fastidious documentation attests to the prodigious wealth of contemporary source material at the author's command. Unfortunately his style is often labored and abstruse. The book might have been made more comprehensible by summarizing the main findings in a concluding chapter instead of in a few brief paragraphs. Unhappily, the author fails to outline the main features and stages in the evolution of Prussian state policy and the factors contributing to the formulation and reformulation of that policy.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ZYKLISCHEN ÜBERPRODUKTIONS-KRISEN IN DEUTSCHLAND. Volume I, 1825 BIS 1866; Volume II, 1873 BIS 1914. By *Jürgen Kuczynski*. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus. Part 1, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart, Volumes XI and XII.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1961. Pp. viii, 199; 210. DM 16 each.) Kuczynski, the well-known East German economic historian, discusses the recurring crises in the German economy from 1825 to 1914 and the accompanying business cycle theory in terms of the well-publicized Marxist dogma that the rhythmic fluctuations inherent in a capitalistic economy are a function of the maldistribution of wealth and income and, hence, of overproduction. The author insists that the crises of 1825-1826 and 1836-1837, though indigenous to Germany, were not characterized by overproduction, as were those of the subsequent three-quarters of a century. He rebukes business cycle theorists for respecting the "taboos" sanctified by the nineteenth-century economic liberals against venturing beyond descriptive or statistical analyses of the recurring crises, at least until the advent of Lord Keynes. Though acknowledging the contributions made by Ricardo, Say, Sismondi, Röscher, and Rodbertus to business cycle theory, Kuczynski contends that the political ascendancy of the bourgeoisie in Western Europe since 1830 induced the contemporary economists to defend the developing laissez faire capitalism and thus hasten the "inevitable" triumph of monopoly. The rise of organized labor during the late nineteenth century, according to the author, brought

with it a growing apprehension over the adverse impact of the crises and the first serious efforts to mitigate or prevent the misfortune. Kuczynski concludes with an attack on G. Kroll, of the institute for economic research in Munich, for his advocacy of clerical and state intervention in western Germany's economic life as an effort to enhance bourgeois political ascendancy. The complex and highly controversial business cycle has at various times been the subject of no less than three hundred publicized theories of which Kuczynski's overproduction thesis, by no means original with him, is only one. Though he marshals much pertinent and new data on German economic crises between 1846 and 1914, the monolithic determinism he applies to this data and to contemporary business cycle theory contributes little to a better grasp of that elusive phenomenon.

Pennsylvania State University
ALFRED G. PUNDT

DIE OBERSTEN BEHÖRDEN DER K. UND K. KRIEGSMARINE, 1865-1918. By *Walter Wagner*. [Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Number 6.] (Vienna: Druck und Verlag Ferdinand Berger. 1961. Pp. 166. Sch. 90.) This balanced and well-organized monograph starts off at the point where Archduke Ferdinand Max, brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph, achieved, temporarily, a separate status for the Habsburg fleet, and when steam vessels began to replace the traditional sail. It carries the complicated evolution of the naval administration of the Danube monarchy through the final liquidation in 1923. Relations between navy, army, and merchant marine and organizational tangles arising out of the cumbrous governmental machinery of the realm are clearly analyzed, and the author presents detailed statements on the role of leading personalities concerned with Habsburg seapower, such as the Archdukes Ferdinand Max, Francis Ferdinand, and Leopold, Rear Admiral Wilhelm von Tegethoff (eminent alike as an administrator and as a battle commander), and Admirals Friedrich von Pöck, Hermann von Spaun, and Grand Admiral Anton Haus. An exceptionally generous chapter sums up projects and plans for administration of the sea forces that came under scrutiny during the war of 1914-1918. One elaborate appendix lists the higher personnel of the fleet with dates of service, and another graphically depicts the complex organization of the navy over the years. Based upon rigorous examination of a full range of primary sources, this highly technical piece of scholarship closes a significant gap in the history of Habsburg seapower and is worthy of the distinguished auspices under which it is published.

University of Rochester
ARTHUR J. MAY

THE HOLSTEIN PAPERS. Volume III, CORRESPONDENCE, 1861-1896. Edited by *Norman Rich* and *M. H. Fisher*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. xv, 665. \$17.50.) This large volume of correspondence brings this series to its most important phase. The correspondence constitutes both the bulk and the meat of the *Holstein Papers*. Those in Volume III amount to 591 items, some containing one or more enclosures. As these are Holstein's papers, most of them are letters from other people, fifty correspondents being represented in this volume. Only some thirty of the Holstein letters come from his own papers. By diligently combing other sources, such as the Bülow, Radolin, Eulenburg, Eisendecker, Tiedemann, Busch, and Brandt papers, and the files of the German Foreign Ministry and the London embassy, the editors have raised the number of Holstein items in this volume to well over one hundred and made it possible to follow through a series of exchanges. Count Paul von Hatzfeldt and Count Philipp zu Eulenburg are well represented, with about seventy items each. There are also fifty-eight letters from Herbert von Bismarck and forty-four from Bernhard von Bülow. Although Holstein regularly ordered his correspondents to destroy his letters and frequently destroyed theirs, there is ample material to constitute an important

addition to the *Grosse Politik* on the one hand and to the memoir literature on the other, Holstein's dual role, in both foreign and domestic politics, being indicated by the identity of his two chief correspondents, Hatzfeldt and Eulenburg. The crucial importance of his own position is documented and clarified. Some years ago, when Holstein's influence began to be realized, a combination of ignorance, devotion to the Bismarck legend, and belittling statements in the memoirs of people like Eulenburg and Bülow led even careful scholars to apply to Holstein's personality and political activity the adjective "sinister." These papers leave little excuse for such romancing. It is quite clear that Holstein's position was indeed that of "gray eminence," with all the selflessness and devotion that the allusion implies. It was merely his misfortune, after Bismarck's fall, to be left without any Richelieu to second—a lack that he felt most keenly. He did his best, and these papers show that his constitutional superior, Kaiser Wilhelm II, knew about this special role, approved of it, and was, in general, appropriately grateful. Holstein was caught between the provincial feudalism of the Prussian court and the modern Western forces of industrialization and parliamentarism. Like all the officials of this period, he was trying to control the contradictory forces of the Bismarck system after Bismarck himself had failed in the attempt. The stupendous task of accumulating, releasing, translating, and annotating this mass of documents has been well and faithfully accomplished. The translations read smoothly, and the notes are always helpful, never obtrusive. By making these interesting and significant papers easily available in English, the editors and the publishers are rendering a great service both to generations of historians and to Baron Friedrich von Holstein.

University of Illinois

J. ALDEN NICHOLS

THE LIFE OF CROWN PRINCE WILLIAM. By Klaus W. Jonas. Translated from the German by Charles W. Bangert. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1961. Pp. x, 252. \$6.00.) Why another book on Crown Prince Wilhelm? Was the impact of his personality on German life and politics during and after the Empire of sufficient scope to warrant another study after Paul Herre published his *Kronprinz Wilhelm* in 1954? That work was a competent, thorough analysis of Wilhelm's role in German politics, particularly during the period of the First World War. The present book claims to be "the first complete, detailed life" of the Crown Prince, utilizing certain hitherto unavailable papers and letters of persons close to him. Actually, the book fails to add much of any significance to Herre's earlier, more thorough, and more mature study, for although it treats his life from the cradle to the grave, it supplements Herre's findings largely with a catalogue (fortunately brief) of the inconsequential social activities of this inconsequential character in German history. The book illuminates few important episodes in the sixty-nine long years of his life, such as his part in the downfall of Bethmann-Hollweg (whom he detested), the crisis of November 9-11, 1918, the incident of his "candidature" for the Reich presidency in 1932, and his relations with Hitler. The life of this pitiable scion of the Hohenzollerns was less eventful and meaningful than is customary even for crown princes who are condemned to inactivity by their parent's longevity. Wilhelm was, it is true, thwarted in his ambitions by a cruel fate, but aside from that there was little in his earlier record—his years of glory—to inspire confidence or to elicit admiration. Throughout his life, as attested by friends and foes, he was inordinately fond of women, horses, and fast cars. He had never subjected himself to the discipline of hard work. In his youth he achieved notoriety for his rash, tactless public utterances, taking somewhat after his father, and acquiring the reputation of a bland imperialist and saber rattler. He passionately identified himself with the Pan-German League and reactionary groups and personalities. Again and again the Kaiser had to reprimand his voluble son. Courage, endurance, political wisdom were not qualities of

this Prince, and it was perhaps not surprising that after the advent of Hitler he demonstratively identified himself with him and his movement (as did the Crown Princess Caecilie and other members of the imperial family). He was soon disillusioned, but when resistance leaders approached him for support, he withdrew with horror from the "dangerous adventure" and warned his son, Louis Ferdinand, to do likewise. His abject end in 1951 in a small apartment at the foot of the Hohenzollern castle in Württemberg was not just the result of the cataclysmic events of the Third Reich and two world wars, but also, one is constrained to conclude, the logical consequence of a life spent frivolously. All this is borne out again by the present work, but one would wish that the author had taken time to work out and interpret the evidence more carefully.

American University

CARL G. ANTHON

SECRET NAZI PLANS FOR EASTERN EUROPE: A STUDY OF LEBENS-
RAUM POLICIES. By *Ihor Kamenetsky*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1961. Pp. 263. \$5.00.) In spite of its sensational title, this book is a scholarly study of National Socialism in its imperialist aspects. The author lived until he was seventeen (1944) in the western (Polish) Ukraine and therefore experienced the effect of some of the Nazi policies he describes. More important, he has been able to use printed and oral Ukrainian-language sources to illuminate his narrative. Mr. Kamenetsky has utilized not only the relevant Nuremberg documents, but also the RKFDV records formerly in the World War II Records Division of the National Archives at Alexandria, Virginia, and parts of the so-called "Himmler files" (*Schriftgutverwaltung des Persönlichen Stabes, Reichsführer SS*) in the Hoover Library and the Library of Congress. He has made good use of his materials to tell a lucid, horrifying tale of the Germans' ruthlessness in carving out for themselves *Lebensraum* in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR. His study is particularly useful for its analysis of the geographic patterns of German colonization in Eastern Europe and for its stress on the scope of differential treatment extended to the subject nationalities in the east (for example, Baltic, Belorussian, and Ukrainian groups). He correctly emphasizes the noneconomic agrarian imperialism (Rosenberg's *Volks-imperialismus*) of blood and soil and the "moral neutralism" of National Socialism toward their "biological enemies." It is unfortunate that he does not distinguish between proposals and plans (he calls everything a "blue print"), thus obscuring the bloody dilettantism and stupid naïveté of the Görings, Himmlers, Rosenbergs, and Bormanns. The present state of scholarly research—indeed Kamenetsky's own work—does not permit a return to the Nuremberg prosecution image of the master plan or the criminal conspiracy. The mass of evil perpetrated by the Nazis was nonetheless evil because the actors were fools and blunderers, but it is dangerous to invest them with an aura of intelligence and rationality that they did not possess. The "average" Nazi had no organ to tell him the difference between ruthlessness and stupidity. Kamenetsky's efforts to parallel Nazi and Communist imperialism also lead him astray, partly because the Communists are really more rational, and partly because both sides' opportunism is obscured in his analysis. Aside from certain unfortunate omissions such as failure to discuss quite basic differences in Germanization procedures (*Wiedereindeutschung*), the role of the Slovenes, and the place of the Balkans, generally, the book is marred by flaws in the scholarly apparatus. There are inconsistency and vagueness in the citation of the Alexandria, Hoover, and Library of Congress documents, so that it may be difficult for other scholars to identify the particular documents in question, especially since these records are now on National Archives (AHA) microcopy T-74 and T-175, a fact that the author does not state. In addition to many cases of indirect citation from secondary sources and citation without page references, there is bad proofreading. A little

more effort would have made the book a valuable aid in the study of National Socialism.
University of Nebraska

ROBERT KOEHL

VENEZIA E I CORSARI, 1580-1615. By *Alberto Tenenti*. [Biblioteca di cultura moderna, Number 564.] (Bari: Editori Laterza. 1961. Pp. 204. L. 1,400.) Although primarily concerned with the history of Venice, Alberto Tenenti's slim, attractively illustrated volume contributes also to the history of all the Mediterranean peoples and of the Spanish and English. They had this in common—at the beginning of the seventeenth century their piracies dealt a severe blow to the Venetian merchant marine and to the position that Venice then still held as a center of exchange between East and West. They attacked with different kinds of ships, some hitting at one part of Venice's trade routes, some at another. Turks and Spaniards professed to be waging holy war on each other while their galleys pillaged Venetian ships in the Ionian Sea. In the northern Adriatic, small oared vessels depending on speed and surprise were manned by the refugees at Segna, modern Senj, originally mostly Slavs striking back at Turkish conquerors but soon a conglomeration of indiscriminating thieves. The English came to Venice as peaceful traders, but many of them turned to piracy on the homeward voyage. Some of the English allied with the Moslems of Barbary and made their bases in Tunis or Bizerte. The English relied on high-sided sailing vessels that could be maneuvered so as to use their artillery with deadly effect on enemy decks. It was the English who did the most damage to Venice. The losses they inflicted about 1603, at least twelve vessels that year, came just at the time when that English and Dutch were beginning to supply themselves directly with Levantine wares and were a deadly blow to Venice's ability to meet this new competition. Tenenti's study is based very largely on unpublished materials that he has dug out of the Venetian and Florentine archives—reports and instructions full of fascinating details about the seamen, the ships, and the way they were handled. The second part of his book describes the various kinds of vessels and patrols by which Venice attempted to meet its daring but illusive enemies. So many themes of commercial and political history are knotted together in this little book that the reader may have some moments of disappointment in finding this or that thread not followed far enough for his taste. Some of the threads were unraveled more clearly in Tenenti's *Naufrages, corsaires, et assurances maritimes* (see *AHR*, LXVI [Oct. 1960], 218). In *Venezia e i corsari* the central theme is the nature of Mediterranean piracy in a distinctive period, 1580-1615. It flourished then as a substitute for all-out war, one might almost say a form of subversion, in which Venice was the principal victim.
Johns Hopkins University

FREDERIC C. LANE

IL BANCO DELLO SPIRITO SANTO DALLE ORIGINI AL 1664. By *Carlo di Somma*. [Biblioteca degli "Annali" dell'Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale, Number 2.] (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli. 1960. Pp. 96. L. 1,000.) Carlo di Somma's careful study of the *Banco dello Spirito Santo* of Naples from 1591 to 1664 illuminates the problems of early banking. Organized in 1591 for religious purposes, the *Spirito Santo* began as a bank of deposit, but soon engaged in a wide variety of credit operations. The bank played an important role as a purchaser of state revenues, as a lender of money to merchants, as participant in the financial transactions of the fairs, and as a dealer in bills of exchange and letters of credit. These activities, however, were sharply curtailed after the monetary crisis of 1622 when a re-evaluated coinage was introduced and stringent measures were taken to control the rate of exchange and credit transactions. The bank had to resort to pawnbroking as a source of revenue, though it did earn handsome profits from the acquisition of state revenues. This latter source of income, however, was withdrawn following the Revolt of Masaniello (1647). The plague of

1656 had deleterious effects on the bank's financial status, and it had to defray the expenses from its pawnbroking operations. The bank once again became merely a bank of deposit. Di Somma documents this history primarily through a detailed analysis of the bank's records. The fluctuation in credit-debit balance serves as a good indicator of the process of credit expansion and contraction. In addition, Di Somma describes the modes of administration, the means utilized by the bank for coping with the crises of 1622, 1647, and 1656, and the analysis of the causes of the monetary crisis of 1622 by contemporaries such as Turbolo and Biblia. The excellent monograph is further enriched with appendixes that include clarifying graphs as well as a yearly breakdown of the accounts.

Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion

ELLIS RIVKIN

MUSSOLINI. By *Laura Fermi*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 477. \$5.95.) Laura Fermi and her husband, the atomic scientist, left Italy in 1938. This biography presents her retrospective impressions of Mussolini.

Baltimore, Maryland

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

PROFILO DI FEDERICO CHABOD. By *Gennaro Sasso*. (Bari: Editori Laterza. 1961. Pp. 191. L. 1,200.) A few weeks before the Eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences met in Stockholm in 1960, its distinguished president, Federico Chabod, professor of history at the University of Rome and director of the *Benedetto Croce Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici* in Naples, died at the age of fifty-nine. Soon afterward one of his ablest students, Gennaro Sasso, published in *Nuova rivista storica* a critical essay on Chabod's historiographical significance. Revised and expanded, this critique now appears in book form. The author describes in eleven felicitous chapters the evolution of Chabod's thought and writings and explains how this eclectic historian came to be so highly respected not only in Italy but throughout the scholarly world. While still a student at the University of Turin in 1925 Chabod demonstrated both his mountaineering skill (he was born in Val d'Aosta) and his liberal political convictions by guiding the Fascist-persecuted historian, Gaetano Salvemini, to safety in France. Although Chabod preferred to remain in Italy, he avoided contamination by Mussolini's regime. His first mentor was Pietro Egidi, but equally influential were Gioacchino Volpe and Benedetto Croce, whom he knew intimately, and Friedrich Meinecke, with whom he studied for awhile in Berlin. Chabod's philosophy of history was strictly his own, however. He shied away from metaphysical theories that superimposed rigid patterns on the past, preferring instead to stress the unique features of historical events and to pay scrupulous attention to concrete details. Starting out in the field of Renaissance political theory (see *Machiavelli and the Renaissance* [1958] and *Giovanni Botero* [1934]), Chabod turned increasingly to his favorite field of political and diplomatic history, conceived in the broadest sense. His solid works, *Lo stato di Milano nell'impero di Carlo V* (1934) and *Per la storia religiosa dello stato di Milano durante il dominio di Carlo V* (1938), were based on archival research in Simancas. Meanwhile he prepared for the *Enciclopedia Italiana* its brilliant main article on the Renaissance. Chabod participated in Italy's armed resistance of 1943-1945, helping to liberate Val d'Aosta and safeguard it from French pretensions. In his free moments during the war he worked on his masterful *Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896: Le premesse* (1951). After the liberation he accepted editorial responsibility for the 1870-1896 series of *I documenti diplomatici italiani*. About the same time Benedetto Croce asked Chabod to head his new Neapolitan institute for advanced historical studies, where he inspired a generation of Italian and foreign students of widely differing historical outlook. His skill in interpreting recent Italian history to both foreigners and confused fellow citizens

was demonstrated effectively in his Sorbonne lectures of 1950: *L'Italie contemporaine* (1950) and *L'Italia contemporanea* (1961). On all of these aspects of Chabod's scholarship Sasso presents critical insight. His book belongs in every university library.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

YUGOSLAVIA. By Muriel Heppell and Frank B. Singleton. [Nations of the Modern World.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1961. Pp. xiii, 15-236. \$5.95.) In the words of its authors, this is an introduction for the general reader, designed to "explain how the Yugoslav people reached their present position" and to help the English-speaking public "understand some of the differences between our way of life and theirs." The book is divided into two parts. The first, by Dr. Heppell, traces (in 104 pages) the evolution of Yugoslav lands from the early Middle Ages to World War I. The second, by Mr. Singleton, takes up the story with World War I and (in 79 pages) brings it up to date. The volume also includes a description of the country, several maps, a selected bibliography, and a table of economic statistics for the year 1959. Given its modest purpose, and size, the book accomplishes its task rather well. Dr. Heppell's essay, while of necessity sketchy, is nonetheless well balanced, often perceptive, and written in a most readable style. Singleton perhaps took on the more difficult task in that contemporary Yugoslav history is labyrinthine in its complexity and so susceptible to political and scholarly controversy that few judgments about it tend to go unchallenged. Nevertheless, his treatment of interwar Yugoslav politics and the events of World War II is an objective and informative account. His sketch of Titoism and Yugoslav development since 1945 is, on the whole, also reasonable, though here issue can be taken with matters of emphasis and a number of his judgments. The author underplays the revolutionary upheaval of the years 1945-1948, contradicts himself on the extent of compulsion used against the peasantry at that time, and underestimates the degree of control exercised by the party and the government since 1953. To represent the recall of Djilas by his own constituency shortly after it elected him to office in 1954 by a 99.8 per cent majority as reflecting the "fickleness of public opinion" rather than the power of the party is naïve or at best too subtle and polite in its sarcasm. And, the suggestion that through the Constitution of 1953 and the establishment of the workers' councils Yugoslavia may be on its way toward developing "a new and higher form of democracy" is hardly warranted by the course of events thus far.

Yale University

Ivo J. LEDERER

DOCUMENTE PRIVIND ISTORIA ROMÂNIEI. RĂSCOALA DIN 1821: DOCUMENTE INTERNE, Volumes II and III; ETERIA ÎN PRINCIPATELE ROMÎNE, Volume IV. Edited by Andrei Ōtetea et al. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne. 1959; 1960; 1960. Pp. 407; 550; 350. Lei 17.90; Lei 23.10; Lei 13.50.) The uprising of 1821 in the Danubian Principalities is a major event in the modern history of Rumania and of the Balkans, in its significance for the peasant problem, in its reflection of growing nationalism, and, through the break between Alexander Ypsilantis and Tudor Vladimirescu, in marking the decline of Greek influence. The nature and history of the uprising have, however, been singularly obscure; this new and very substantial collection of documents edited by the Academy of the Rumanian People's Republic is a welcome contribution. The first volume provided materials for the background of the uprising in the first two decades of the century, including Vladimirescu's earlier career. The second and third volumes deal with the uprising and with subsequent repercussions. The fourth volume concerns the activities of the *Philike Hetairia* in the Principalities. While some of the documents are from published sources, there is much new material from the Rumanian archives. Documents written originally in Greek,

Russian, or German are translated into Rumanian. A Russian calendar of the documents is provided, as is a glossary of unfamiliar terms—and there are many.
Columbia University HENRY L. ROBERTS

MOSKAU UND DIE POLITIK DES KAISERHOFES IM XVII. JAHRHUNDERT. Volume I, 1604–1654. By *Walter Leitsch*. [Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slawentums und Osteuropas, Number 4.] (Graz-Köln: Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1960. Pp. 296. Sch. 132.) A work that illuminates the obscure role played by Muscovy in European diplomacy before Peter the Great must be considered a useful contribution. In this competent and definitive study of the diplomatic relations between the courts of Moscow and Vienna during the first half of the seventeenth century, Walter Leitsch has made such a contribution. The value of this study rests in its sources, the documentary material in the Vienna archives. Recalling the old maxim of diplomacy that one is the enemy of his neighbor and the friend of his neighbor's neighbor, we might assume that Muscovy could have played a significant political role during a period when the Habsburg-Bourbon competition governed the diplomacy of Europe. A glance at the map of seventeenth-century Europe suggests that the destinies of the rising houses of Habsburg and Romanov should have been interwoven. The Habsburgs were threatened by Sweden and menaced by the Ottoman Empire, two of the three barriers to Moscow's territorial expansion. We might well imagine that there must have been considerable liaison between Moscow and Vienna because of these common interests. This work convincingly disproves such a possibility. Although the Habsburgs and the Romanovs might be considered eventual natural allies, they did not collaborate significantly during this period because they chose different objectives. Vienna was primarily concerned with the Swedish and Turkish threats and was thereby drawn to collaborate with the Poles who faced the same threats. Moscow's fixed objective was Poland and the recovery of Smolensk. Since the tsars would not waver from this course, there was little interest in Habsburg-Romanov cooperation. Only after 1667 did the tsars turn their attention toward the Habsburgs' enemies, Sweden and Turkey. This realignment will be treated in Volume II.

Stanislaus State College

DAVID B. STENZEL

MOSCOW JOURNAL: THE END OF STALIN. By *Harrison E. Salisbury*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. 449. \$6.95.) This work adds discrete and useful details to our knowledge of the Soviet Union. Covering the changeable, bitter years from March 1949 to October 1953, when Salisbury was Moscow correspondent for the *New York Times*, the *Journal* is full of the tragedy and anxiety of those years. Particularly interesting are its descriptions of developments in Moscow after Stalin died. The *Journal* helps to explain why Salisbury's reporting has been so highly valued in America. He possesses a profound sensitivity to the Russian political scene, a great capacity to comprehend and sympathize with Russia's problems, an almost romantic appreciation of the bizarre, the pitiful, and the wonderful in human beings.

Michigan State University

ARTHUR E. ADAMS

AFRICA

ON ALIEN RULE AND SELF-GOVERNMENT. By *John Plamenatz*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1960. Pp. viii, 224. \$3.75.) This challenging essay is concerned essentially with the emancipation of African colonies in order that liberal democracy might spread and Communism be checked in the future. Although he disclaims any intention of putting forward a detailed program for positive action,

Plamenatz gives warnings and suggestions to the ruling powers in Africa and to Africans who have achieved independence or are still struggling for it. He urges the creation of an international authority in which the United States would be associated with Britain, France, Holland, Belgium (why not Italy?), and the countries that have been colonies of these four European powers. This new agency would assist still dependent peoples in the development of their economies and in promoting independence, to accomplish a task which, according to the author, the United Nations as now constituted cannot perform. The author discusses at length the pros and cons of European claims for continued domination of dependent areas and the contrary claims of dependent peoples for independence. He seeks to establish the historical generalizations that should guide those who seek to establish and to promote democracy in our present world. These generalizations are numerous, many of them are thought provoking and challenging. They are produced by fusing from history the details of dates and names involved in the coming of democracy after the manner of the *cire perdu* process of African craftsmen making metal ornaments or tools. The author's explanation of conditions favoring the development and promotion of democracy in the nineteenth century and of what happened to it after the First World War suffers from an oversimplification of history, particularly in its lack of stress on the diplomatic and economic security that favored democracy in the latter half of the nineteenth century and on the absence of such security that produced the authoritarian states of the 1920's. While disagreeing, I wholeheartedly commend this exciting effort to make use of history as a guide to those dealing with the great problems of our present world.

Yale University

HARRY R. RUDIN

ASIA AND THE EAST

ANGLO-MARATHA RELATIONS DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF WARREN HASTINGS, 1772-1785. By *Sailendra Nath Sen*. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1961. Pp. xi, 288. Rs. 15.) In this detailed study of late eighteenth-century Anglo-Maratha politics and diplomacy, Dr. Sen has digested the voluminous records preserved in Marathi as well as English. This monograph is of value to scholars concerned with the complex struggle waged between the most powerful country powers in India during Warren Hastings' tenure as governor and governor-general of Bengal. An introductory chapter surveys the fluid political situation at Poona in 1772-1773, primarily as seen through the reports of the company's ambassador to the Peshwa's court, Thomas Mostyn. The next chapter carries the struggle between the Bombay government and Poona through the Treaty of Surat in 1775. Chapter III focuses, quite properly, more upon the conflicts between Calcutta and Bombay than on those between English and Marathas in the difficult era of the company's Regulating Act Rule. We are made well aware of just how hard a job the English were confronted with in trying to integrate their rule over so vast and varied a world as India. Chapters IV and V deal with the "Diplomatic Interlude" that followed the Treaty of Purandhar. Then comes an analysis of the "Futile Negotiations" after the Convention of Wadgaon, a chapter on the military operations of 1780-1781, and finally one on the Treaty of Salbai and its aftermath. The author's hero throughout is Warren Hastings, whose policy is uncritically accepted as invariably sound and just. Without necessarily detracting from the luster of that remarkable man it should be possible by now to view Hastings' aims and achievements with greater historical perspective.

University of California, Los Angeles

STANLEY WOLPERT

THE EMANCIPATION OF FRENCH INDOCHINA. By *Donald Lancaster*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York:

Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 445. \$7.20.) This volume ably analyzes decolonization in Indochina, a process greatly complicated by the Communist bid for power under Ho Chi Minh. Although the author devotes a third of his study to pre-colonial Indochina, the French presence, and the Japanese occupation, he emphasizes developments from Japan's surrender in 1945 through the early aftermath of the 1954 Geneva Conference. He has carefully utilized available sources and has clearly profited from firsthand observation in Indochina during the critical period between 1950 and 1954. Lancaster modestly asserts that he embarked upon the task of writing the book with only "slender baggage," but the final product indicates that he could give to a research design keen perspective and diligent endeavor. From factual foundations he has attempted to interpret the significance of the Indochina war. In places, however, he tends to let the record speak for itself without benefit of analysis. As the course of the struggle is extremely complex, the tracing of developments is *per se* a contribution. The material is well organized, substance has not been captured by methodology, and at times the style is exemplary. Only an author who has actually been on the spot could catch, for instance, the atmosphere of Saigon. Biographical notes on thirteen people, a brief but select bibliography, and a reliable map add to the stature of the book. The historian will not find this study definitive, for the relevant archives of the foreign offices are not yet generally open to the scholar. But this condition should not constitute a barrier when the need for research is manifest and considerable reliable material is available. Despite the limitations of human memory, much is also gained by the systematic interviewing of living participants in a given situation. When the archives are finally opened, it is doubtful that the broad contours of Lancaster's work will be basically altered. At the same time a number of controversies such as the differences between Anthony Eden and John Foster Dulles on policy in Indochina may be better understood. For the student interested in foreign policy the volume provides a sound perspective on the current crisis in Indochina. Many of the basic factors so well described by Lancaster are present today. Although Lancaster does not cite alternatives of policy, he clearly shows the consequences of the policy adopted. Lancaster's study merits careful reading both inside and outside the academic community.

University of Michigan

RUSSELL H. FIFIELD

THE EMERGENCE OF THE MODERN INDONESIAN ELITE. By *Robert Van Niel*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1960. Pp. vii, 314. \$6.75.) This book begins with the year 1900, but the major coverage is of two phases of Indonesian social and political development: 1914-1920 and 1920-1927. The 1914-1920 phase was characterized by limited communication between the metropolis and the colony, owing to wartime conditions, accompanied by a general attenuation of the Dutch "ethical policy" of administering the colony. While the "ethical policy" nominally continued, the 1920-1927 phase in Dutch colonial policy involved an attempt to resume more active direction of the colony's social development. In this latter phase, the colonial administration on the one hand moved to restrict the more extreme native anticolonial expressions and on the other increased its attention to the indigenous adat law as a basis for integration. On the Indonesian side, Van Niel designates 1914-1920 as a period of "rampant radicalism," and 1920-1927 as one of "syncretism and conservatism." My impression of the data cited is rather that the 1914-1920 period was one of experiment with and exploration of a variety of ideologies of self-determination, oscillating between cultural and political emphases in different combinations, while the 1920-1927 period saw the beginning of the differentiation of political groups according to preferred methods of action. The author is primarily interested in organized group activities among the educated Indo-

nesians from whom the revolutionary leadership was later drawn. He pays sufficient attention to Dutch colonial policy to illuminate the interplay of motives and actions on both sides. Dutch sources are used extensively. Very few Indonesian documents are cited, but a number of interviews with individuals prominent in Indonesian movements of the period are relied on for important insights. The organization of the book is that of narrative history. Van Niel wisely does not attempt to impose overprecise characterizations on his data. The reader is thus led to appreciate how amorphous social movements of such seminal periods can be. The author's comments on individual personalities are of especial value. His writing is clear, economical, and surprisingly mature for a work that was originally a doctoral dissertation.

Santa Monica, California

A. M. HALPERN

YUAN SHIH-K'AI, 1859-1916: BRUTUS ASSUMES THE PURPLE. By *Jerome Ch'ên*. (London: George Allen and Unwin; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1961. Pp. 290. \$6.00.) This book merits the attention of everyone concerned with events in China during the first decades of the twentieth century. Ch'ên displays a profound understanding of the factional quarrels and personal relationships that play an important role in the history of that period. By consulting an impressive quantity of Chinese-language materials he succeeds in illuminating a number of formerly obscure developments. Especially revealing is his description of the circumstances resulting in the creation of the Chinese Republic in 1912 and the subsequent rise and fall of Yuan Shih-k'ai. According to the author, Yuan triumphed over his republican opponents because, in addition to commanding the most modern army in China, he likewise enjoyed the support of foreign bankers, who were given in return a virtual stranglehold over much of China's economy. After destroying the Republic he attempted to re-establish the monarchy, only to be overthrown by centrifugal forces generated in large part by his own policy of allowing his commanders to set up as warlords in the various provinces. Unfortunately the book is marred by serious flaws. On the rare occasions when Ch'ên interrupts his narrative in order to analyze his data and draw conclusions, his account becomes confused and even absurd. He also lacks the objectivity normally associated with serious scholarship. Frequently he uses pejorative language, innuendo, and other questionable devices calculated to convey the impression that Yuan was little more than an unscrupulous villain. Yet he ignores the equally opportunistic behavior of Yuan's republican rival, Sun Yat-sen, whom he praises in the most extravagant terms. Furthermore, he employs an eccentric system of footnoting which leaves the reader uncertain about the precise source of information. The result is a useful and important but nonetheless unsatisfying book.

Duke University

DONALD G. GILLIN

HUANG HSING AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. By *Chün-tu Hsüeh*. [Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science, Number 20.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 260. \$5.75.) Huang Hsing was an important figure in an important stage of the Chinese revolution, the peer of Sun Yat-sen in the development of the revolutionary movement that unseated the Manchu dynasty. Yet Huang has been almost forgotten, and many of the events in which he was a leading participant have not received due attention from scholars. This detailed and meticulous account goes far to restore Huang to his proper place in the historical record. His career serves as a guideline through the twists and turns of patriotic conspiracy against the Manchus, the successful risings of 1911, and the bitter politics of the presidency of Yuan Shih-k'ai. In the years before 1912 Huang was a great military hero who never won a major battle but whose defeats were propaganda victories in their demonstration

of the will to oppose the Manchus. After the establishment of the Republic, Huang showed himself an idealistic politician, slow to take the measure of Yuan Shih-k'ai, but a military realist quick to realize the hopelessness of armed resistance to Yuan in the abortive "Second Revolution." Huang spent the closing period of his life in the United States, returning to China just before his death in 1916. The author of this monograph is concerned not only to resurrect but in some respects to rehabilitate Huang. His defense of Huang's words and actions at a number of controversial points is, however, not uncritical or partisan. Rather, it grows out of a careful examination of the evidence from which Huang emerges as a man of high principle, ambitious not for himself but for the success of the revolutionary cause. The study is based on an impressive bibliography of Chinese sources, including the papers of Huang and of a number of his associates in the revolutionary movement.

Mount Holyoke College

MERIBETH E. CAMERON

SINGAPORE: THE JAPANESE VERSION. By *Masanobu Tsuji*. Translated by *Margaret E. Lake*. Edited by *H. V. Howe*. Introduction by *H. Gordon Bennett*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1961. Pp. xxv, 358. \$5.50.) This book is extremely bad history, yet it is of interest and value to the historian. Former Colonel Tsuji (who writes under the improper title of "Colonel") is an unreconstructed militarist who still lives in the emotionally unstable world of Japanese ultramilitarism, glorifying in theory the feats of the fighting man while ignoring in fact the human experience of war. His record of the Malayan campaign of 1941-1942 cannot be trusted as military history for the author's histrionic balderdash obscures or distorts that which could be of interest to the professional soldier. When he writes what may be accepted as accurate, he offers little or nothing that has not already been better established by others. The value of the book, therefore, lies in the possibility that the author's almost pathological state of mind may give insights into the motivation of the Japanese who led their country to the disaster and ruin of World War II. We can discover symptoms of emotional immaturity and flight from reality. Tsuji refuses to drink alcohol until Singapore is captured, bursts into tears on numerous occasions when he thinks of his Emperor, victory, or a fallen comrade, risks his life repeatedly (if indeed he did) on the battlefield (in situations where no chief staff officer should ever find himself), and blandly states that the enemy was not savagely treated. Tsuji's conceit leads to the inference that he was primarily responsible for the planning and execution of the Malayan campaign. If it were as Tsuji claims, one wonders what General Yamashita was doing in Malaya, or, indeed, why the Japanese army had generals. The author's greatest accomplishment may well be having secured an introduction by General H. Gordon Bennett endorsing the account. Perhaps old soldiers never die, they just form a writing club for the perpetration of bathos.

University of Oregon

PAUL S. DULL

AMERICAS

VOYAGEURS BELGES AUX ÉTATS-UNIS DU XVII^e SIÈCLE À 1900: NOTICES BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES. By *Antoine De Smet*. (Brussels: [Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.] 1959. Pp. 201.) Antoine De Smet, assistant archivist at the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, has made a significant contribution to scholarship in American history with the publication of his annotated list of Belgian travelers who visited the United States. His biobibliography of these travelers covers the colonial and national periods of American history to the year 1900. Individual travelers, including Belgians who lived a portion of their lives in America, are listed alphabetically. Each

entry, depending upon the data available, includes a brief biographical sketch and bibliographical notes on relevant published and unpublished material. Perhaps the longest entry in the book is that for the famed Jesuit missionary Father Pierre-Jean De Smet. This book, based upon published works and a thorough investigation of manuscript material in archival repositories, is in many respects a well-documented dictionary of Belgian travelers in the United States. It supplements Frank Monaghan's *French Travellers in the United States 1765-1932* (1933) and is a reference work that should be available in libraries for serious researchers in American history. The comprehensive indexes for names and places make the volume extremely useful. There are, for example, some thirty-seven references for Chicago, fifty-one references for Philadelphia, and twenty-two references for California.

University of California, Santa Barbara

WILBUR R. JACOBS

THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY 1649-1776. By *William Kellaway*. (London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1961. Pp. 303, 42s.) This thorough, witty monograph deals with many facets of New England Puritan society. The Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England (after 1660 "Society" was changed to "Company") had an important hand in the support of Harvard College (Thomas Hollis was a member of the Company); the supply and subsidy of printing presses in Cambridge (Marmaduke Johnson was an employee); a well-capitalized loan bank in Boston, when money was scarce after the Restoration; and the shipment in lean years of manufactured goods to New England, including guns and ammunition soon used in King Phillip's War. The only area in which the Company fell down badly was converting the American Indian. For all their religious zeal, the Puritans were poor missionaries. Kellaway did his research when a staff member of the London Guildhall Library, and his chief source is the large collection of the Company's manuscripts there. He has packed his book with basic information, but successfully kept a sense of humor (very dry) and of emphasis. The aggressive personality of John Eliot, the retiring humility of the Mayhews, the humanity of Daniel Gookin, the overwhelming importance of Robert Boyle and Sir Henry Ashurst all stand in clear perspective. So also does the urban and commercial character of the Company membership in England. Precise estimates of the number of converted Indians are given, but Kellaway offers little toward an understanding of Indian attitudes toward the Englishman and his strange new ways. That the book is an authoritative history of the New England Company would have been good enough. What one might not expect, it is also a fresh and stimulating inquiry into Puritan culture.

University of Texas

MICHAEL G. HALL

WHITE SERVITUDE IN COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA. By *Warren B. Smith*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 151. \$4.75.) This book has an unusual history. Though first published in 1961, it was originally written as a doctoral dissertation for submission to the University of Chicago at the close of the First World War. Thereafter the author abandoned academic pursuits for a business career. He attributes his decision to publish, after forty years, to the encouragement he received from the late Professor Robert L. Meriwether of the University of South Carolina and from the late Dr. J. Harold Easterby of the South Carolina Archives Department. The purpose of the book, as of the dissertation, is to combat the assumption that white servitude played an insignificant part in the life of colonial South Carolina. The evidence is drawn chiefly from land records, legislative papers, and the files of the provincial *Gazette*. The text, which repeatedly summarizes the evidence in convenient tabular form and which includes many lengthy quotations from the record,

is complete in ninety-three pages. Notes, four appendixes, a bibliography, and an index have been added. Students of the period will find the work a helpful reference. If it leaves the white servant as something less than a major figure in the history of colonial South Carolina, it also establishes him as something more than "a negligible quantity in the history of the province."

Princeton University

WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN

THE VIEW FROM THE WHITE HOUSE: A STUDY OF THE PRESIDENTIAL STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES. By *Seymour H. Fersh*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1961. Pp. vi, 158. \$3.25.) The Presidents are historians who "record and interpret a narrative of events" through their messages which constitute "The Presidents' Chronicle." Hamilton utilized Washington's prestige to promote his measures by having the proposals incorporated in the annual messages. With Washington the delivery of the annual message was a ceremonial event, "the speech from the throne" as the irreverent Republicans called it. Jefferson merely sent his messages to Congress to be read by a clerk possibly because to ride the coach of state through stump filled Pennsylvania Avenue was to risk his very life. By 1835 Jackson's message was so important that the Cincinnati *Commercial* paid two hundred dollars to get it in sixty hours. Madison began the "scissor and paste" message, a compilation of department reports, which practice, with the exception of Lincoln's messages, continued until President Taft. This contributed to the growing length and prosaic quality of the messages. "Under Lincoln's pen the message reached one of its highest peaks of prestige and consequence" and contributed "to the upgrading of the office." Today the message may be largely the product of the Legislative Reference Division of the Bureau of the Budget. Professor Fersh has done a fine job here for the benefit of all his colleagues.

Ohio Northern University

WILFRED E. BINKLEY

THE MIND OF THE NEGRO: AN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF AFRO-AMERICANS. By *Earl E. Thorpe*. (Baton Rouge, La.: Ortlieb Press. 1961. Pp. xxi, 562. \$7.75.) In the introduction to this ambitious work, the author disavows any attempt to be "either exhaustive of the general subject or definitive in any way." At the same time, he proposes Parrington, Commager, and Cash as models for "any attempt" at writing an intellectual history of "the Afro-American" and hopes that his book will have interest "not only for the general reader" but that it will also be so comprehensive in its coverage that it may be used as a text for "courses in the Negro in American history." One result is that the book is neither a comprehensive text suitable for courses nor an intellectual history. It is, rather, a series of twenty-one loosely organized chapters plus three unnumbered segments bearing such headings as: "The Frontier and Slavery," "Negro Thought on Cruelty and Pleasure during Bondage," "Ante-bellum Classes and Family Life among Negroes," "The Day Freedom Came," "Some Sources and Patterns of Public Behavior," and "Mind of the Negro Writer and Artist." In the attempt to gather all things within the covers of one volume, Thorpe has lost sight of the objectives of intellectual history and of the history of ideas. Perhaps the panoramic and interpretive skills of a Parrington or a Cash have so dazzled the author that he has also lost sight of the basic rules of historical method and of grammar and rhetoric as well. While many of the problems of this volume may be traced to extremely careless proof-reading, others must be attributed to the careless use of sources, most of them secondary accounts of Negro political and literary figures, and to the loose construction of lists and statements. "Yet, no Negro Democrat was elected to Congress before Oscar dePriest in 1928" does not say that DePriest was a Democrat but, in the context of a discussion of Negro disaffection from the Republican party, it hardly says that he was a Republi-

can. Similarly, Jamaican and South African novelists appear to be American Negro writers; Dorothy Maynor, Marian Anderson, and Roland Hayes sang the "roles" of *Faust*, *Aida*, and *Carmen* at indefinite times and places; and a novel whose action takes place in Chicago appears to be about a family living on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Nevertheless, almost every Negro who has had anything at all to say publicly about the Negro in America is referred to at least once in this book; despite the lack of a bibliography, the notes and the index may prove useful to anyone who has the patience to go back to the listed sources and discover for himself what the persons referred to really thought about the myriad subjects touched upon in this volume.

Morgan State College

ULYSSES LEE

PETER OLIVER'S ORIGIN & PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN REBELLION: A TORY VIEW. Edited by *Douglass Adair* and *John A. Schutz*. [Huntington Library Publications.] (San Marino, Calif.: the Library. 1961. Pp. xxi, 173. \$5.00.) Douglass Adair and John A. Schutz have performed a very useful service to scholarship by publishing and editing all of Peter Oliver's history of the rise of the Revolution in Massachusetts from 1760 to 1775. Not unknown to specialists, Oliver's narrative deserves more studious attention than it has received. It is fascinatingly readable and surprisingly reliable with respect to facts, but not with respect to interpreting them. Peter Oliver, a stout Tory, had much to say about deficiencies in character and understanding of the defenders of American liberties in Massachusetts. Their leaders were knaves and fools who instigated a rebellion for personal reasons only. James Otis was embittered because his father was not appointed chief justice of the province; Samuel Adams was an embezzler; John Hancock was a "meer Tabula Rasa." They and others like them, not excluding Congregationalist clergymen, stirred up people against a regime that was without fault. Oliver found no shortcoming whatever either in himself or in Governor Thomas Hutchinson, whose daughter had married his son. It is readily evident that his view of the coming of the Revolution was a very narrow one. Oliver's history is valuable for more than a better understanding of Tory feeling. Thus, he knew that the long-believed legend that the British troops who marched out from Boston to Concord in April 1775 were ordered to seize Hancock and Adams was false. They "happened" to be near the British line of march; said Oliver, "the wicked fleeth when no man pursueth." The editors have done their work well, offering a suitable introduction and appropriate, though brief, annotations. They have wisely allowed Oliver to tell his own tale.

Duke University

JOHN R. ALDEN

FABRIC OF FREEDOM, 1763-1800. By *Esmond Wright*. [The Making of America.] (New York: Hill and Wang. 1961. Pp. xiii, 298. \$4.50.) The American Revolution has always elicited controversy, more perhaps among its interpreters than among the actors in the revolutionary contest. Given the welter of interpretations, of neo-Bancroftians and imperialists, of new conservatives and Namierists, of Fiskeites and Beardians, it is hardly surprising if beginning students of the subject, and not a few of their teachers, have been bemused. For some time we have needed a fresh evaluation of the epoch, a scholarly introduction that would steer a course between the shoals of complexity and oversimplification. In *Fabric of Freedom*, the most recent addition to Hill and Wang's Making of America series, Professor Esmond Wright of the University of Glasgow has provided such a book. The measure of Wright's achievement is his ability to synthesize conflicting interpretations without becoming submerged in disputation. In 250-odd pages he manages to survey colonial society and parliamentary politics on the eve of the Revolution, to retell the familiar story of the Revolution itself, and to

provide a skillful account of the adoption of the Constitution and the establishment of the federal government. In part the volume is a triumph of sheer good writing, for the author is a vigorous stylist with a flair for generalization and an eye for illuminating detail. Thus we are told that George Washington had a larger staff to direct at Mount Vernon than he had when he assumed the presidency in 1789, and again, that Franklin's labors to produce the Albany Plan of Union were less successful, and perhaps less important, than his role as postmaster and builder of postal roads, since "the highway, then as now, has been the cement of the common life." *Fabric of Freedom* is more than just an attractively written survey; it is a persuasive interpretation in its own right. Applying the researches of Sir Lewis Namier and his followers to the American problem more fully than has been done before, Wright concludes that the Revolution was "the product of executive weakness, not tyranny; of parliamentary, not royal, vacillation; and of chronic irresolution . . . both at home and in the colonies." He describes the Constitution as both "the apogee of the Revolution and its Thermidor," adding that it created a "strong government . . . made as weak as could safely be managed." And in summarizing the situation in 1800 he argues that the nation was "at once preindustrial, prenational, and predemocratic," but insists that it had "raised the fabric of freedom . . . and buttressed it by a faith in constitutional process that was, far more than slavery, its peculiar institution." For this volume, which is graced by an unusually perceptive bibliographical essay, it is safe to predict a long and useful life.

University of California, Los Angeles

KEITH B. BERWICK

THE NEW NATION, 1800-1845. By Charles M. Wiltse. [The Making of America.] (New York: Hill and Wang. 1961. Pp. ix, 237. \$4.50.) Charles M. Wiltse's little volume in The Making of America series (edited by David Donald) does not claim the interest of serious students of American history. As Donald's foreword explains, this book, following the general pattern for the projected six-volume series, makes its appeal to that handsome, profitable, but often elusive abstraction, the general reader. Specifically, *The New Nation, 1800-1845*, is designed to present the best historical scholarship to a wide public in the form of a brief, "broadly interpretive" synthesis of the elements of politics, economy, culture, society, and diplomacy. Viewed within its self-appointed limits, Wiltse's book leaves this critic with a troubled mind. One cannot doubt that reputable historical scholars and their publishers have some obligation to inform the reading public, a reasonable license to provide entertainment and pleasure, and a perfect right to the resulting rewards. Indeed we all regret that better time when Gibbon or Parkman or Prescott reached the educated classes. And so we create: reams of stuff for hobbyists; the stale trivia of yesterday, labeled Americana; and recently the threadbare but respectable little survey for busy readers. The case is far from hopeless. Talented writers and discriminating publishers are providing their own solutions, with rising support from the paperback revolution. With encouraging frequency the successful historical writer for a wider public does not feel compelled to contrive a popular package for the general reader. He works at the top of his bent, both as craftsman and as thinker, chooses a topic of some scope and dignity, and leaves out only the obtrusive machinery and the shoptalk. *The New Nation* represents at best a small gift from an estimable scholar to the general reader. It attempts too much for its boundaries, or the wrong sort of thing for its genre, and so contributes little. Within its tight limits, the thinness of the narrative becomes conspicuous for the lack of thematic unity. Small things must be particularly simple, clear, coherent, and graceful to achieve an effect. Donald's promise of a new revisionist motif—"the rise of American nationalism"—is hardly realized in the text. When Wiltse follows his story of events, American nationalism is no stronger or weaker, no more consistent or erratic than it appears to

be in, say, the standard textbook account of the era. Perhaps he meant to argue that the issue of nationalism, taken for itself, is the key to the political conflicts of the Jefferson-Jackson era, but that is not consistent with Wiltse's heavy (and unrevised) use of Beardian economic interpretations, and of Parringtonian liberal vs. conservative interpretations. Consistency aside, that does not strike me as a fresh departure in American historiography. In the concluding chapter, Wiltse writes: "Had it not been for the moral issue raised by the existence of slavery, American sectionalism would undoubtedly have worked itself out earlier than it did." That is, it would appear, the rise of American nationalism would have been the dominant unifying theme of American politics in the first half of the nineteenth century if the sectional conflict over slavery had not been a stronger theme. The physical appointments of *The New Nation* are neat and modest. There are a few simple outline maps, no illustrations, and a thirty-page bibliographical essay that is perhaps disproportionately long for a text of less than two hundred pages.

University of Chicago MARVIN MEYERS

DANIEL MORGAN: REVOLUTIONARY RIFLEMAN. By *Don Higginbotham*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1961. Pp. xi, 239, \$6.00.) After many decades without a biography of the revolutionary hero General Daniel Morgan, two have appeared in the same year, one by North Callahan (see *AHR*, LXVI [July 1961], 1132), and now one by Don Higginbotham. Consideration of Higginbotham's book inevitably evokes a comparison with Callahan's. Both books are excellent studies, though by no means alike in their treatment or emphases. Whereas Callahan presents a broad canvas, which enables one to set Morgan more in the context of his time, Higginbotham keeps his attention sharply and consistently focused on Morgan himself; this has a distinct advantage from a scholar's point of view, but is less desirable from that of the general reader. In his development of Morgan's military career Higginbotham's treatment is less rounded than Callahan's. Morgan himself does not suffer, but one misses the fullness one finds in Callahan's account of the campaigns, the battles, and Morgan's associates. Though Higginbotham tends to see Morgan somewhat more objectively as a soldier, both men agree essentially in their characterization of Morgan as exercising a unique and most important role in the Revolution. As a commander of riflemen, he was the ranger par excellence of the war. Impulsive and formidable, he was heroic in the defeat at Quebec, lethally effective as a lieutenant to Gates and Arnold in the Saratoga campaign, and managerially brilliant in his victory over Tarleton at Cowpens. Higginbotham's account of Morgan's postrevolutionary career is admirable, the best that is available. In fact, whereas this was the weakest part of Callahan's work, it is the most original and valuable feature of Higginbotham's. He has made effective use of his sources, particularly contemporary newspapers and correspondence. As a result, Morgan emerges as a political figure by no means inconsequential. Lucid, concise, and readable, Higginbotham's biography is a useful contribution. For a truly satisfying account of Morgan, however, one might do well to read both Higginbotham and Callahan.

Wesleyan University

WILLARD M. WALLACE

A GENERAL OF THE REVOLUTION: JOHN SULLIVAN OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. By *Charles P. Whittemore*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 317. \$6.00.) It has been almost a century since the publication of the last biography of General Sullivan. Because he was one of the more able, second-line leaders both during the War for Independence and the political struggles of the next decade, there is certainly a need for a new interpretation of this paradoxical man. The present volume devotes one chapter to Sullivan's family, youth, business, and law practice to the age of

thirty-five. Half of the book is then devoted to his military career. Often on the verge of great success, he usually wound up in defeat, controversy, or both. Badly beaten at Long Island, successful under Washington at Trenton and Princeton, Sullivan's generalship at Brandywine and Germantown remains a subject of controversy. Brilliant staff work and careful planning at Newport were upset by factors beyond his control. His campaign against the Six Nations in 1779 was successful. Retirement from the army was followed by a single, highly controversial term in Congress. With his rival, John Langdon, he shared political leadership in New Hampshire in the 1780's and led in the successful battle to ratify the new federal Constitution. Ill health and financial worries plagued him, and he died in 1795 at the age of fifty-five. Mr. Whittemore has made a careful search of primary materials, contributes to our knowledge of the general's early legal career, and provides objective appraisals of his strength and weakness in both the army and politics. Sullivan's courage, loyalty, drive, careful attention to planning, concern for his men, and occasional tactical insight deserve this retelling. Carefully organized and written in an acceptable if not exciting manner, this volume is especially notable for its analysis of Sullivan's personality and its appraisal of his role in New Hampshire politics, the best and most interesting chapters. Limited sources account for the author's seeming disinterest in some phases of Sullivan's life, although a more adequate use of New Hampshire newspapers and secondary sources might have been helpful.

State University of New York, Cortland

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

THE KING'S CHEVALIER: A BIOGRAPHY OF LEWIS LITTLEPAGE. By *Curtis Carroll Davis*. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1961. Pp. 442. \$7.50.) There can be no doubt that Lewis Littlepage was "an extraordinary Character" as George Washington noted in his diary in 1785. Whether for good or for evil is the question. Was the expatriate American who served the royal houses of Spain, Poland, and Russia a spendthrift and adventurer, pretentious and arrogant, an intellectual lightweight who made his way among the courts of Europe by brass and gall? Or was he a sagacious adviser to kings, a brave soldier on foreign battlefields, an acute observer of international politics, an ornament to the young country that gave him birth? Curtis Carroll Davis has rescued the precocious little Virginian from an obscurity deserved or undeserved according to one's view of his merits. The symbol of Littlepage's success, a symbol that forms the ornament to the book's dust jacket, is the golden key given him on his appointment, in 1786, at the age of twenty-four, as a chamberlain to King Stanislas of Poland. The key, giving the access accorded confidential advisers to the private chambers of the King, is a fit symbol, with ironic modern overtones, of Littlepage's aching for and achievement of social success. His biographer too lovingly and too tediously recounts his endless social and diplomatic triumphs, often reported by himself in terms outrageously flattering, until we long to know not what Littlepage thinks of himself but what his biographer thinks of him. One is particularly at a loss to interpret the unfavorable judgments so often made by contemporaries about Littlepage, for example, those concerning his pamphlet warfare with John Jay. If Littlepage was overreaching, as so many observers felt, we do not get a strong impression of it. The author's approach, while having a surface detachment, is bland and does not do justice to Littlepage, whether he is conceived of as a pompous ass or a brilliant diplomatist. Perhaps he was both.

Smithsonian Institution

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY: GENTLEMAN FROM BALTIMORE. By *Charles H. Bohner*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1961. Pp. x, 266. \$5.50.) A

fresh biography, informed by the enthusiasms of American studies, is just what the life of this Kennedy has invited. Patrician, leading citizen and active politician, author (Washington Irving style), and benefactor of the arts in a lively city, Kennedy had enviable gifts of talent, personality, wealth, and opportunity. The author reveals both the irony of his hero, which helped *Swallow Barn* avoid the mushiness of later plantation novels, and his generosity, toward Poe and many others. Just a touch of Kennedy's own irreverence might have helped Bohner express the superficiality he suggests, the flaw of being so privileged, so urbane, and active, as Kennedy.

Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES A. BARKER

A CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST (1811-1957). By *Oscar Osburn Winther*. [Indiana University Social Science Series Number 19.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1961. Pp. xxvi, 626. \$6.00.) This new edition of Professor Winther's bibliography is a much-expanded version of the earlier one which appeared in 1942. The enlargement was occasioned primarily by the inclusion of the considerable periodical literature published during the years 1938-1957. The list of journals covered is increased by nine new titles among which are numbered state historical magazines for Arkansas, Arizona, and Montana, and more general periodicals such as *Ethnohistory*, *Historian*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, *Journal of Economic History*, and the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*. Had a later cutoff date been possible, *Idaho Yesterdays* would undoubtedly have been added to the list as well. The total number of entries has been increased from 3,501 to 9,244 references. The arrangement of items follows a subject and geographic classification, as in the earlier edition. The principal grouping is by states or by areas such as the Mississippi Valley, the Great Plains, the Southwest, Hispanic America, Oregon Country, and the Pacific Northwest. Mexico is included as a heading, though the coverage extends only to American periodicals. In the case of Canada the references are similarly derived, but include a further coverage from the *Canadian Historical Review* and the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*. Since both of these magazines published bibliographic listings, the effect of their inclusion is to increase the usefulness of Winther's *Bibliography* for the student who wishes to canvass Canadian materials. A few subject headings are used for purposes of general classification, as, for example, agriculture, range and cattle, the frontier, fur trade, immigrant groups, Indians, and transportation. Special mention should be made of five pages of citations under the heading of reclamation and conservation and thirty pages of items under military. Several others, such as labor, mining, railroads, slavery, and utopian societies are noted as cross references to subgroups within geographic classifications. No attempt has been made to provide a complete system of subject analytics. It is comparatively easy, however, to scan the geographic groupings and lift out items on banking, government and politics, biography, economic topics and cultural developments, and social institutions. In this respect the Guide can be used more conveniently, though less systematically than the cumulative *Index* to the *Writings on American History* which it supplements and extends. An author index enables a user to locate references readily when the author is known.

University of Washington

CHARLES M. GATES

ROBERT JOHN WALKER: A POLITICIAN FROM JACKSON TO LINCOLN. By *James P. Shenton*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. xviii, 288. \$6.00.) Robert J. Walker began a long and turbulent political career by helping to carry his native Pennsylvania for Jackson in 1824. He ended it as Lincoln's emissary in England where his mission was to block a Confederate loan. In the intervening years he

represented his adopted state of Mississippi in the Senate, where he spearheaded the fight for annexation of Texas; sat in Polk's cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, where he engineered the "free trade" tariff of 1846; and served Buchanan as governor of Kansas where his failure was as tragic as it was conspicuous. In his simultaneous pursuit of power, fame, and wealth, Walker was probably more typical of his times than most of his better-known contemporaries. He was at once showman and behind the scenes manipulator; stockjobber and organizer of business enterprise; propagandist and logician; statesman and paid lobbyist. He was the complete opportunist, ready to push the frontiers of the United States to the very shores of Europe and Asia, but on both sides of most domestic issues, including slavery. His speculations in land, railroads, and mines were in the grand manner, which did not disdain to use political influence for private gain. Professor Shenton's welcome evocation of a too long neglected figure whets the appetite, but does not altogether satisfy the hunger it stimulates. The facts of Walker's life are marshaled with meticulous care, but the background is so meager that the book becomes perforce a tract for the already well-informed. Walker's role in bringing about Polk's nomination is well handled, but the Kansas interlude is sketchy and colorless. The treatment throughout is too topical to give even the most knowledgeable reader a sense of unity. The flamboyance that was as much a part of the man as his verbosity, his puny stature, and his overcompensating aggressiveness does not quite come through.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES M. WILTSE

SETH EASTMAN: PICTORIAL HISTORIAN OF THE INDIAN. By *John Francis McDermott*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1961. Pp. x, 270. \$10.00.) Seth Eastman was a soldier-painter. A graduate of West Point in 1829, he served with distinction in the regular army of the United States for forty-five years. His duties were varied, and wherever he went it was with sketch pad in hand. The result is a legacy of sketches and paintings of singular importance for the study of the American West and its Indian inhabitants. Professor McDermott emphasizes Eastman's importance as a "pictorial historian of the Indian," one whose aim was to record accurately the everyday life of the Indians he observed. The artist's attention to detail and his lack of romantic exaggeration set him apart from such famous Indian painters as George Catlin and Alfred Jacob Miller. McDermott's work is excellently done. The book, however, is not intended as a full-scale biography of Eastman. It is instead what might be called a historical catalogue of Eastman's paintings, with just enough of his life brought in to form a framework on which to hang the pictures. This approach was, perhaps, a necessary one, since for many periods of the artist's life our only sources of information are the sketches and paintings themselves. Although Eastman's importance lies in his pictures of the Indians he encountered during long service on the western frontier, the author does not limit his study to Eastman's Indian subjects. The book is in fact a complete record of all of Eastman's work—his Hudson River scenes painted at West Point, his sketches made in Texas during the Mexican War, his drawings of street scenes in Washington, and the series of paintings which, late in his life, he was commissioned to paint for committee rooms in the Capitol. The handsomely produced volume contains 116 reproductions of Eastman's works, 8 of them in color. This is a definitive work on Eastman.

Marquette University

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA

RICHARD HENRY DANA, JR., 1815-1882. By *Samuel Shapiro*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 251. \$5.00.) This is a scholarly biography of one of the lesser figures of the nineteenth century. Richard Henry Dana came from

an old Massachusetts family prominent in Federalist politics. Dana wrote *Two Years Before the Mast*, a minor American classic, at the age of twenty-three, but made the law his career and divided his life between pursuit of his profession and a quest for political preferment. His marriage to Sarah Watson was not altogether happy, his political ambitions were repeatedly disappointed, and, though he became a successful lawyer, he died in 1882 convinced that his life had been a failure. Dana was an aristocrat by nature, and his career largely supports the thesis that the aristocracy of the middle period, out of harmony with the new forces of immigration, industrialism, and political democracy, gravitated into reform movements as a means of self-assertion. A conservative Whig, Dana followed Charles Francis Adams into the Free Soil ranks in 1848 and in the 1850's joined the Republican party, but was never in rapport with the reforming elements in those movements. Insensitive to the prevailing tides of public opinion, he had little sympathy for the Negro, paid homage to the rural communities of Massachusetts, and had no understanding of the problems of the immigrants who were populating the cities of the Bay State. His career was full of contradictions, for in him a warmhearted devotion to justice repeatedly clashed with his conservative temperament. Dr. Shapiro has patiently recorded Dana's often contradictory positions on public questions, but the author's lack of sympathy with his subject is often plain to see. This is one biography in which the principal character has not become a hero to the chronicler of his life.

University of Rochester GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

ENTERPRISE AND ANTHRACITE: ECONOMICS AND DEMOCRACY IN SCHUYLKILL COUNTY, 1820-1875. By C. K. Yearley, Jr. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXIX (1961), Number 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1961. Pp. 254, ix. \$5.00.) Coal mining has typically called for large-scale corporate efforts; this book analyzes an important, though temporary, exception to this concept. The first half century of anthracite mining in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, was characterized by rampantly individualistic small enterprises; by 1875, most had been supplanted by a controversial single firm (the coal and iron arm of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad), headed by its complex and enigmatic president, Franklin B. Gowen. This book supplies important new analytical material on this seminal period in American business history and provides valuable collateral information on the facts surrounding a crucial development in nineteenth-century labor union history, the rise and fall of the Molly Maguires. Discovery of coal in the almost uninhabited Pennsylvania hills quickly bred a speculative fever that led to a "frontier" manifestation, both economically and socially. This was heightened (and lengthened) in Schuylkill by the pattern of individual enterprise. Incomplete mining technology was buttressed by overly conservative, even irresponsible, decisions by these individual proprietors. These actions often led not only to unsafe practices and inefficient mining but to intensification of the already high incidence of failures. Corollary negativism in respect to labor conditions resulted in poor living and working conditions and bred one of the country's earliest industrial unions. The situation was ripe for intervention, and Gowen supplied it in a massive purchase of coal lands in the early 1870's, a move that later helped to put the company in receivership. The author is incisive in his judgments and careful in his documentation. Although he proposed also to consider the social forces inherent in the coal fields, his treatment is less complete; consideration of the major impact of the Irish on the mores of the region, for example, is brief.

Dartmouth College WAYNE G. BROEHL, JR.

QUEENS OF THE WESTERN OCEAN: THE STORY OF AMERICA'S MAIL AND PASSENGER SAILING LINES. By Carl C. Cutler. Foreword by Chester W.

Nimitz. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1961. Pp. xxi, 672. \$12.50.) The author, a devoted lover of "canvas-backs," set out, some forty years ago, to collect material that would disprove the idea that America was not a maritime nation. He later abandoned the larger theme to concentrate on the story of the sailing liners that were active from 1812 to 1860 on the transatlantic routes and along the eastern seaboard. The first regularly scheduled sailing line was the *James Monroe* of the Black Ball Line; it left New York in January 1818. Within four years, three other lines were added to give a weekly service to Liverpool. A well-known later line was the Dramatic Line of E. K. Collins, established in 1837, and sold in 1848, when Collins decided to start an American steamship line. His paddle-wheel transatlantic steamers contested for the blue ribbon of the Atlantic with the British Cunard Company and lost out. The author seems strongly prejudiced against the Cunard Line. In the two decades before the Civil War, numerous regular sailing lines carried European emigrants in steerage to the "Land of Promise." The emigrant lines were guilty of scandalous overcrowding in steerage that led to heavy loss of life at sea, as high at times as 10 per cent of those seeking a new world. Contrary to the author's statement, the merchant owners did not always put "service before profit." The narrative is interesting, but has little to say of the mail carrying activities of the lines. The account is marred by strong prejudices and doubtful judgments: "Palmer was one of the ablest mariners of all times"; sailing liners left a record "that has never been excelled, if, indeed, it has ever been equalled"; the "story of America, to an extent rarely appreciated, is the story of her merchant marine"; "the American sailing ship for two centuries led the world. . . . There is much to warrant the conclusion that they were primarily responsible for the preservation of the Union in the Civil War." The volume includes a valuable listing of over six thousand ships of the sixty transatlantic lines and of the five hundred more important coastal lines. The United States Naval Institute has issued a handsome and well-illustrated volume.

Oberlin College

HOWARD ROBINSON

ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY, ABOLITIONIST EDITOR. By *Merton L. Dillon*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 190. \$4.75.) Professor Dillon's stated purposes are to analyze the thinking of the one abolitionist who was murdered for his beliefs and to extend knowledge of abolitionism and other pre-Civil War reform movements. His research has not led him to a new characterization of Lovejoy, but simply to greater certainty of the man's thorough Puritanism. Lovejoy came to abolition belatedly and with the conviction that God had endowed a few men, including him, with special ability to recognize customs and institutions that were contrary to His law. Lovejoy's own mission was to see that other men kept divine law. So overwhelming was his responsibility that he need obey no rule except the "higher law" which God reserved for the guidance of his special assistants. In his acceptance of Lovejoy's own estimate of his particular fitness for his mission, Dillon attributes his subject's many clashes with his contemporaries to the opposition of sinful or misguided men. His view precludes attention to certain questions that are particularly relevant to any evaluation of Lovejoy's contribution to abolition or to the maintenance and/or extension of civil rights. He does not, for example, ponder Lovejoy's anti-Catholicism as a factor in his difficulties. Neither does he note that the half-truths and ambiguities which Lovejoy used in statements of publication policy might well have made even enthusiastic backers wonder if their promises to help maintain a free press might eventually involve them in support of an irresponsible press. Failure to consider these and other questions reduces the validity of the author's conclusions. Dillon maintains that Lovejoy's violent death encouraged the growth of antislavery societies, but offers no documentary proof. He con-

tends that the death brought an end to moral suasion as an important technique of abolitionists. This it did not do, for William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Weld, and dozens of others long continued to call upon Americans to renounce the sin of slaveholding. Abolitionists appealed to ballot and statute in the conviction that the state bore a responsibility to bolster moral suasion when, periodically, its effectiveness seemed to falter. Dillon's delineation of Lovejoy as a steadfast Puritan dedicated to his godly mission can increase the historian's understanding of the motivation of men of similar conduct.

Manual High School, Peoria, Illinois

HAZEL C. WOLF

THE STAKES OF POWER, 1845-1877. By Roy F. Nichols. [The Making of America.] (New York: Hill and Wang. 1961. Pp. x, 246. \$4.50.) Although American historians are on the whole a friendly and gregarious lot, they have been less inclined than their cousins of the social sciences to enlist in group research projects of the sort that so readily open the hearts and checkbooks of the endowed foundations. On the other hand, they have generally been willing to turn from their lonely individual endeavors to participate cooperatively in writing chapters for volumes or volumes for series in association with their fellows. In an earlier period these collections tended to be explorations into largely unsurveyed areas and materials, laying out lines to guide the hosts of monographic delvers who followed after them. This was the nature of Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History* of the 1880's and Albert Bushnell Hart's *American Nation* of the early 1900's, as well as more specialized endeavors such as that of Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox in the field of social history. Another type of cooperative series, notably the fifty-volume *Chronicles of America*, has been more directed toward summarizing work already done, including that of the authors, for the general reader and for scholars less at home in the field. The present series, brought out by a new publishing firm, to summarize the history of America in a half-dozen compact volumes, falls in the second category. Consequently there is little need in a scholarly journal to engage in a detailed review of the main points of a volume that sums up problems that have been so skillfully delineated in the author's previous and more elaborate treatments, against the background which has been provided by other historians whose endeavors are referred to in bibliographical notes at the end of this volume. Indeed, the striking thing about the present book is the fact that Professor Nichols is here able, as the result of a mastery that can come only from decades of study, to focus the central history of one of the most critical and dramatic periods in American history upon a single central concept—the transfer of national control from one set of sectional-economic-social-political interests to another. With unobtrusive scholarship, with a wonderful ability to compress without distorting, and in the felicitous style we have come to expect, he has written a book that will reward the expert, the nonexpert, and the casual reader. Some specialists may wish to argue that there should have been more of an indication than is to be found here of divergent views among scholars on the generalship of McClellan and also something more on the major revisions now getting under way in the analysis and evaluation of Reconstruction. There will be other times and other places for such questions.

George Washington University

WOOD GRAY

MORNING STAR: A BIOGRAPHY OF LUCY STONE, 1818-1893. By Elinor Rice Hays. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1961. Pp. 339. \$5.75.) A biography of the leader whose pioneering work in the American woman's rights movement earned her the title of "morning star" has been needed; her daughter's account (Alice Stone Blackwell, *Lucy Stone: Pioneer Woman Suffragist* [1930]) is understandably uncritical.

Mrs. Hays believes it especially important to bring Lucy Stone Blackwell's achievements to light, as she considers *The History of Woman Suffrage* (1889), written by Lucy's rivals in the movement, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Matilda Joselyn Gage, highly prejudiced in its treatment of Lucy. This book, she says, "has become the authoritative document used by all subsequent historians," a fact about which she sadly comments, "History tends to leave its crowns on the heads of those who have placed them there with their own hands." Mrs. Hays presents documentary evidence for her own conception of the contributions that Lucy and her husband made to the movement. Aside from its value as an attempt to correct the existing record, *Morning Star* presents the interesting story of a courageous woman's struggle to achieve not only a college education but a public speaking career in New England at a period when "freedom for slaves might be tolerated," but "freedom for women was carrying radicalism too far." Lucy began this career as an antislavery speaker, but soon she was more interested in pressing for a change in the position of women than in that of Negroes. Unswerving determination, persuasive arguments, and some magnetic quality in her voice and personality brought her success. Not only did she sway audiences; she inspired such energetic women as Susan B. Anthony to assume leading positions in the movement. The author's analysis is seldom more than superficial, but her treatment is consistently objective. Lucy emerges from the pages a solidly human, strong-minded woman in her several roles as speaker, writer, editor, wife, and mother. The smoothly written account, placed nicely against the background of general political developments, clarifies the shifting relationships among the various reform crusades of the period. Although the author's previous experience has been with creative rather than historical writing, her book reveals firm mastery of the historian's craft. Her bibliography, as well as every page of writing, indicates extensive research in manuscripts and newspapers, and her use of this material is always judicious. Yet unaccountably she has failed to undertake the final chore necessary to give her book scholarly value; it contains not a single footnote. If this omission results from the publisher's decision, he has done the biographer a disservice. Notes would have detracted neither from the readability nor the salability of the book.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College

MARY R. DEARING

LARGELY LINCOLN. By *David Chambers Mearns*. Introduction by *Earl Schenck Miers*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 227. \$6.00.) These fourteen essays are what the nineteenth-century poets used to call "occasional pieces," such as a commemorative oration, an address delivered to this club, a welcome to a professional library group, and so forth. Unified by no overriding theme, except that nine are more or less about Lincoln and illustrate Carl Sandburg's verdict that "the son of a gun grows on you," these essays do not attempt to revolutionize our picture of the Great Emancipator or to shatter our illusions about the Civil War. Such tasks Mearns leaves to more combative historians and himself prefers to explore the byways of Lincolniana. For the reader who has ever speculated whether Lincoln would have made a great actor, or has brooded over the fate of the numerous locks of presidential hair that served as souvenirs, or has wondered about Lincoln's (entirely blameless) relations with the raffish Princess Salm-Salm, Mearns has the answer. Here, too, is a re-creation of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Ottawa, as a present-day journalist might have described it, an account of Lincoln's brief trip through New Jersey on his way to his inauguration, and a brief analysis of changing English opinions of the President. All this sounds like standard Lincoln Day oratory, and indeed the historical significance is not heavy, but Mearns has a wry sense of humor, a flair for phrase, and a talent for singling out the one striking detail that reveals the true meaning of an incident. As a

result, his book is as informal, as amusing, and as instructive as a personal conversation with the genial chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Though, as the title suggests, most of these essays are about Lincoln, some of the most amusing deal with other topics. No student of American social history will want to miss the hilarious adventures of D. P. Gardner, "the New England Soap Man," and every historian of the 1920's will be instructed, if not exactly edified, by Mearns's account of "A Neglected Bookman: Calvin Coolidge."

Princeton University

DAVID DONALD

MAN OF THE PLAINS: RECOLLECTIONS OF LUTHER NORTH, 1856-1882. Edited by *Donald F. Danker*. Foreword by *George Bird Grinnell*. [Pioneer Heritage Series, Volume IV.] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1961. Pp. xx, 350. \$4.75.) The role of the Indian scouts employed by the United States Army during the Plains Indian campaigns following the Civil War has remained one of the least-known phases of that dramatic episode in western history. Publication of the recollections of Captain Luther H. North, who served in Company A, Pawnee Scouts, has partially filled the need for more information on this role. Many years after he served on the Plains, North was persuaded by George Bird Grinnell to record his experiences. In a foreword written in 1925, Grinnell referred to North as "the greatest, as he is almost the last, of the old-time scouts of America." The manuscript, however, remained unpublished, except for portions which were quoted in Grinnell's *Two Great Scouts and Their Pawnee Battalion*. Expertly edited by Donald F. Danker, archivist of the Nebraska State Historical Society, the manuscript is now published in its entirety for the first time. The editor has not only supplied clarifying footnotes, but he has also supplemented each chapter with more extended discussions of men, places, and events mentioned by North. Fifteen letters written by North, from the collection of the Nebraska State Historical Society, have been included in an appendix. North's picturesque descriptions of the campaigns in which his Pawnee scouts were engaged and his frank and interesting comments on General Custer (under whom he served for a time) and a fellow scout named William Cody add significantly to our knowledge of the Indian wars on the Plains and are a delight to read.

University of Illinois

ROBERT W. JOHANSEN

REPORTS FROM COLORADO: THE WILDMAN LETTERS, 1859-1865, WITH OTHER RELATED LETTERS AND NEWSPAPER REPORTS, 1859. Edited with introduction and notes by *LeRoy R.* and *Ann W. Hafen*. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, Volume XIII.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1961. Pp. 333. \$12.00.) This is a basic addition to the source materials on the early settlement of Colorado, much of which has been done by the Hafens. The introductory chapter, written out of the depth which detailed knowledge gives, sketches the early gold discoveries and the subsequent development of the gold rush. *Reports from Colorado* includes the letters written from Denver by the Wildman brothers (and wife of one) to their parents in Connecticut and a selection of contemporary newspaper accounts of the gold rush. Most of the letters are written by Thomas, who went to Denver in 1859. His letters tell more of the early history of Denver than of the gold rush and reflect the interests of a young man who made his living keeping books, dabbling in real estate, and selling lumber, rather than mining gold. Wildman was a westerner in spirit, who had a tender memory of his New England home but a strong faith in the future of Denver and the West. His subsequent rise to leadership in Colorado attests to the wisdom of his choice.

Wisconsin State College, River Falls

WALKER D. WYMAN

THE CIVIL WAR AT SEA. Volume II, THE RIVER WAR, MARCH 1862-JULY 1863. By *Virgil Carrington Jones*. Foreword by *E. M. Eller*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1961. Pp. xx, 490. \$6.00.) In this second of a projected three-volume history of the naval war, Mr. Jones carries his narrative from March 1862, when some Washington officials feared that the victorious *Merrimack* would appear in the Potomac just beyond the truncated Washington Monument and begin lobbing shells into the White House, to July 1863 when the fall of Vicksburg permitted the Mississippi to flow "unvexed to the sea." In the course of his story the author tells something of the work of the blockaders and their elusive prey along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, the iron-clads in the bays and harbors, and the gunboats on the western rivers. Readers of Jones's books on Mosby and the guerrilla war in Virginia have come to expect a good story, well told, and he does not disappoint them here. The serious student, however, will find little that is either new or significant in the present volume. The research is narrowly based, relying very heavily on the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, with only occasional recourse to contemporary letters, diaries, debates, and newspapers. The result is that Jones has not grappled with the more significant historical problems presented by the "river war." He has made little effort, for example, to track down the origins or reasons for the decisions on priorities and personnel made in Washington and Richmond that imparted such vigor to the Union effort while leaving the Confederates tied in red tape and suffering the effects of low priorities and second-rate commanders. Nor has he come to grips with the ways in which local pressures, emanating from western state capitals and transportation centers, were utilized by the North and largely ignored by the South. Those who seek a good narrative of the crucial middle year of the naval war, generously sprinkled with apt characterizations of the major figures, will find this a rewarding book. Those who seek analysis and interpretation must look further.

University of Maryland

DAVID S. SPARKS

THE CHARLES ILFELD COMPANY: A STUDY OF THE RISE AND DECLINE OF MERCANTILE CAPITALISM IN NEW MEXICO. By *William J. Parish*. [Harvard Studies in Business History, Number 20.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. xxi, 431. \$10.00.) *The Charles Ilfeld Company* is a model business history. It is detailed without being tedious, significant without being ponderous, and stylish without being meretricious. For the most part, histories of firms have focused on business concerns in the metropolitan East and North, but here is a less developed area. Charles Ilfeld, fresh off the boat from Germany, "chaperoned the patient ox" westward to arrive in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in August 1865. Santa Fe had commercial importance then, and it has it now, but only in the most strained sense has it ever been a metropolis. Shortly Ilfeld moved to a still smaller town, Taos, where he remained two years before settling in Las Vegas, New Mexico, which was to remain his base as he and his successors expanded throughout northern and eastern New Mexico during generations stretching into the 1950's. In a region that was slow to unfold, the Charles Ilfeld Company expanded steadily until it hit \$21,600,000 in sales in 1947. But more than the story of the growth of a mercantile house, this book portrays the interplay between that house and its environment. The book provides an abundance of information on the later nineteenth- and twentieth-century frontier conditions that should interest any student of western development. Problems of money exchange, the impediments of underdeveloped freight transportation, the importance of sheep and cattle to a western mercantile firm are but a few of the facets that the author has examined with rich and rewarding detail. Parish has made a real contribution to students of business history, economic history, management, and western history, but in addition, he has written a

book that can be enjoyed by any intelligent reader who refuses to be scared away by the sober subtitle and chapter headings.

University of Texas

JOE B. FRANTZ

JOHN FISKE: THE EVOLUTION OF A POPULARIZER. By *Milton Berman*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 48.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961. Pp. viii, 297. \$6.50.) John Fiske is apparently beyond redemption either as an original philosopher or as a research historian; Dr. Milton Berman's scholarly, well-written biography accentuates this fact. Even the publishers' image of a child prodigy is reduced to a picture of a bookish youth whose secluded rearing by elderly relatives cut him off from normal recreational contacts. Fiske's great tragedy was not only his failure to get the much-coveted history appointment at Harvard but also his insatiable desire for luxurious living—he weighed almost three hundred pounds in middle age—and his readiness to plunge into hopeless debt to keep up his extravagances. This helps to explain why he diverted his undeniable talents in philology, philosophy, and history into sterile but profitable lectures for adoring ladies' groups and other middle-class audiences. Too often his prolific books merely restated what he had already said on the lecture platform. His ethnocentric prejudices were congenial to Boston's Brahmins who fittingly selected him as an honorary president of the Immigration Restriction League. Like Bancroft and so many other nineteenth-century historians in America and England, he emphasized the Teutonic germ theory of Anglo-Saxon democratic derivations, the current imperialism, racial superiority, and chauvinism of the New England style. Fiske had some claims to be the American Huxley for Charles Darwin or at least the apostle of Herbert Spencer, whom he came to know personally and who admired Fiske's writings on evolution. Through the attractive optimistic writings of Fiske, many an educated American became acquainted for the first time with the ideas of positivism, evolutionary religion, and the Spencerian approach. Berman handles the philosophic analysis expertly and has not only read practically all of Fiske's writings, but located many fresh manuscript collections in various libraries. The discussion of Fiske as a historian is unfortunately overshadowed by the lengthy treatment of his religious and evolutionary ideas—the subject of Berman's doctoral dissertation. But he makes clear that Fiske depended upon secondary sources, that his quest for money did not permit him time for much genuine research, and that he yielded, though under protest, to his publisher's demand that he strike out unfavorable comments on the Old South. Yet Berman concludes, "Fiske rendered an irreplaceable service in providing his generation with ideas and concepts that permitted intelligent Americans to achieve a workable intellectual accommodation with the rapid social and intellectual changes of the nineteenth century." This is also the conclusion of Dr. Patrick Hazard of the University of Pennsylvania, whose massive two-volume dissertation on Fiske (unfortunately missed by Berman) offers substantiation of the observation that Fiske seldom went beyond popularizing other men's ideas.

Western Reserve University

HARVEY WISH

OUTLAWING THE SPOILS: A HISTORY OF THE CIVIL SERVICE REFORM MOVEMENT, 1865–1883. By *Ari Hoogenboom*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961. Pp. xi, 306. \$6.50.) Here is a good monograph, of the right length for its subject, based on thorough research, well organized and pleasingly written. The tone is judicious rather than supercilious, even in treating matters where the author's disapproval is unmistakable. He has tried to identify the leading civil service reformers, explain what motivated the movement in that period, and show how it affected politics and the civil service itself. Though he deals primarily with the events from the time the move-

ment started to the year the Pendleton Act was passed, causing it to lose its vitality, he deals with subsequent developments in an epilogue. He adds to our knowledge of the leaders, avoiding the thesis that the movement was a drive by businessmen to wrest control of government from politicians not responsive to the economic interests of industry and finance. He also doubts that it came from the determination of Presidents to exert greater control over Congress and party by cutting down that of local bosses. Instead, he demonstrates that the zeal of reformers who were out of power disappeared when they were "in" and that the passage of the Pendleton Act was possible only through action by men on their way "out." The effect on politics and the civil service itself is less clearly but adequately shown. A surprising amount of interesting detail has been woven into the narrative. Before publication, it was read and cited in Van Riper's *History of the United States Civil Service*, and the reliance by both authors on many of the same sources is apparent. This book is able to give about ten times as much space to the period it covers and uses that opportunity to the reader's advantage.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE F. HOWE

AMERICANS FROM YUGOSLAVIA. By *Gerald Gilbert Govorchin*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 352. \$8.50.) The author is right in claiming that, with a few exceptions, the story of American immigrants has been rather fully recorded, the Yugoslavs being one of the exceptions. There have been character sketches and brief biographies of Yugoslav personalities in newspapers, magazines, and books and human interest stories (especially by Louis Adamić). Particular aspects of Yugoslav-American life have been described by numerous monographs. Govorchin has presented the full story of the American Yugoslav. Carefully documented, the study displays his fine erudition. Yet Govorchin's handling of his subject is not without minor weaknesses. A professor of history, his sociological approach could be strengthened by more stress on the cultural conflicts confronting the second generation or the trends in assimilation in the third generation. As a native of Yugoslavia, he is enthusiastic about "the Slovenian immigrant, editor, author, and social philosopher, Louis Adamić," but he only hints about some of the somersaults of Adamić. Here and there Govorchin shows some curious ignorance of the pertinent literature; for instance, his Appendix I, "Historical Background," features the Slavonic aspects of history, yet it ignores the only book of its kind in English, *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* (1949). These minor criticisms do not deny that Govorchin's is the best systematic study of the American Yugoslav.

University of Bridgeport

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

EAST TEXAS LUMBER WORKERS: AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PICTURE, 1870-1950. By *Ruth A. Allen*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1961. Pp. x, 239. \$5.00.) This objective and critical study of East Texas logging and sawmilling focuses attention, not on the colorful and often flamboyant tycoons, but on the economic and social image of the workers themselves. Basing her account on voluminous federal and state labor records, census reports, published works, and the extensive Alexander Gilmer Lumber Company papers, which are deposited at the University of Texas, Professor Allen has presented a detailed statistical and graphic picture of the East Texas lumber worker. The result is a severe indictment of both the industrial leaders and the state. The East Texas region, an area larger than the state of Ohio and now inhabited by more than one million people, has remained isolated, poorly educated, and rural in character—"a land of deep poverty." The principal occupation is lumbering which has been dominated, especially since 1900, by a few great companies with vast timber holdings and a series of mills. In comparison with other workers, the annual income of East Texas lumber

workers declined steadily until by 1950 they ranked in the very lowest category for industrial workers. In addition, the pattern of paternalism, arbitrary deductions, merchandise checks, periodic slack work, company-owned houses, antiunionism, and the perennial company store combined to reduce living standards even more. Miss Allen concludes that the history of the East Texas lumber worker may be characterized as the story of a plot, and the plotters' names "were inertia, ignorance, and . . . tyranny." This is not a light or popular book for the casual reader, but the serious student of the economic life of the Gulf Southwest will welcome Miss Allen's careful and well-documented study. It should become the standard monograph in its field.

Stephen F. Austin State College

ROBERT S. MAXWELL

W. E. B. DU BOIS: A STUDY IN MINORITY GROUP LEADERSHIP. By *Elliott M. Rudwick*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1960. Pp. 382. \$6.00.) This book is concerned chiefly with the period when Du Bois was a recognized race leader—from the time when he helped to crystallize the opposition to Booker T. Washington early in the twentieth century until his resignation from the NAACP in 1934. Rudwick traces clearly the several strands and changes in Du Bois' complex ideological development: how he started out as a moderate with a program similar to that of Booker T. Washington's; how he moved to the left and became the leader of the radicals of the Niagara Movement and the NAACP with their program of agitation and protest; his interest, emphasized at some times, muted at others, in racial chauvinism in economic matters and in the development of a segregated Negro economy; his identification with and interest in Africans; and his Marxist orientation, held with varying degrees of intensity since early in the twentieth century. Du Bois emerges as a man of paradoxes: a fervent integrationist whose mystique and pride of race found expression in his proposals for a segregated Negro economy as an indirect tactic for the attainment of equality, and in his deep concern for Africa; a Marxist, intellectually concerned with the plight of the lower-class Negroes, who nevertheless held himself aloof from the masses and directed his propaganda to the race's elite. Rudwick sides with Du Bois in his struggle with Washington, but the noted leader clearly emerges as a vain and unreasonable man from the author's account of his struggle with other NAACP leaders. Rudwick evaluates Du Bois' qualities of leadership by saying that he was a superb propagandist, but a failure at organization and administration. The book is a competent study, based on sound research, and gives a clear picture of the subject and his role in the history of the American Negro.

Morgan State College

AUGUST MEIER

AN AMERICAN EPIC. Volume III, FAMINE IN FORTY-FIVE NATIONS; THE BATTLE ON THE FRONT LINE, 1914-1923. By *Herbert Hoover*. [The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.] (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1961. Pp. xxv, 592. \$6.50.) *An American Epic* is a projected series of four volumes to describe American relief activities in Europe in two world wars. Volume I dealt with relief to Belgium and France from 1914 to 1918; Volume II was concerned primarily with relief to the Allies and the neutrals from April 1917 to the armistice. This, the third volume, overlaps Volume II's chronological period, but is much broader in national coverage. The final volume will be concerned with World War II relief activities. Volume III's major emphasis naturally falls on work of the American Relief Administration, but Mr. Hoover conscientiously gives credit to every agency whose work can be discovered. The reader who perseveres through tons, agencies, and funds is rewarded by extracts, sometimes pages long, from interesting documents. When he reaches Part II, "After the Peace," he will find a coherence lacking in Part I. Of particular in-

terest is the last section on "The Relief of Communist Russia." There is no doubt about the political objective of relief in the interim between armistice and peace, although the humanitarian motive surely was foremost. Certain political actions had to be taken before the relief personnel could enter an area. Communists were taking advantage of chaos and creating even more. The Communist tide was contained; then came the terrible Russian famine against which the now "private" American Relief Administration fought with no political motive and the very minimum of Russian cooperation. As in several of Hoover's books, there are many long quotations from documents. But some of these we have seen before in *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson* and in *The Memoirs*. One who has read these works carefully and then turns to *Famine in Forty-five Nations* will encounter a literary form of the law of diminishing returns. Although Hoover has told some of the story before, many new facts and anecdotes enrich the present version. The appendix that lists personnel will be very useful to future researchers in the history of American relief.

Miami University

HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN

THE UNITED STATES IN THE SUPREME WAR COUNCIL: AMERICAN WAR AIMS AND INTER-ALLIED STRATEGY, 1917-1918. By *David F. Trask*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 244. \$6.00.) Trask presents a neglected yet significant aspect of American belligerency during World War I in his analysis of the relationship between the military decisions of the American government and President Wilson's fundamental war aims. His history of the Supreme War Council, described as a forerunner of NATO, presents a careful examination of the origin, functioning, and decisions of this major instrument of inter-Allied cooperation. The Supreme War Council, created in 1917 after the US entered the war, was composed of the Prime Ministers of Britain, France, and Italy, and the President of the United States, or their deputies. One other representative from each country, usually the Foreign Minister, also participated in the deliberations of the group. Meeting regularly during 1918 the Council discussed and helped to formulate the political-military strategy of Western coalition. The study shows why American participation was concerned almost exclusively with military questions, despite strong Allied pressure for political decisions. It demonstrates once again Wilson's avoidance of commitments that might have compromised his peace objectives and emphasizes the skill of both General Tasker H. Bliss and Colonel Edward M. House in achieving Wilsonian objectives in their respective roles on the Council. Trask considers a variety of important aspects of the war, such as utilization of American manpower, evolution of the unified command, friction between military and political leaders, the Macedonian campaign, intervention in Russia, and the prearmistice negotiations. Consideration of the last topic stresses House's success in achieving both of Wilson's aims: a moderate set of military and naval terms for the Central Powers and Allied commitment to a Wilsonian peace. The work rests on a thorough examination of primary materials including the official albeit meager records of the Supreme War Council, the papers of Wilson, Bliss, Baker, House, and others, and appropriate printed sources, both Allied and American. Soundly organized and well-written, the book clearly reveals the extent to which American relations with the *Entente* centered on two fundamental objectives, a clear-cut victory over the Central Powers, and maintenance of American diplomatic independence. The author documents well his interpretation of Wilson's dominance in the formulation of inter-Allied policy. He questions the general view that American policy and strategy during World War I were often ill considered and haphazard. Moreover, he demonstrates that Wilson and his policy makers were most appreciative of the significance of military strategy as a vital factor in the consummation of war aims. In this respect, the study presents a

fresh interpretation of Wilson's wartime preparations for the peace settlement which envisaged a world "safe for democracy." The study represents a significant contribution to the examination of political-military decisions in coalition warfare, fills an important gap in the study of Wilson's diplomacy, and is vital to any future study of World War I.

Orange County State College

BETTY MILLER UNTERBERGER

REBEL IN PARADISE: A BIOGRAPHY OF EMMA GOLDMAN. By *Richard Drinnon*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xv, 349. \$5.95.) This is a good example of what energetic and imaginative research can accomplish. The author has covered the sources: besides the Emma Goldman papers at the New York Public Library and the International Institute for Social History at Amsterdam, he has used the press, court records, the Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan, and the National Archives. Thorough and clearly written, *Rebel in Paradise* provides historians with as much reliable information about Emma Goldman as anyone may reasonably demand. Dr. Drinnon is to be commended for his research on this highly interesting, significant, and, recently, too neglected figure. Unfortunately, however, scholars generally and historians especially will find the book disappointing because of the author's odd decision about documentation and because of the considerable degree to which the book is a statement of his personal political position. With only a few unimportant exceptions, the footnotes in the first twenty-seven chapters are only explanatory. For documentation, Drinnon refers the reader to his unpublished doctoral dissertation, which was done in the American studies program at the University of Minnesota in 1957 and which is far longer and quite different from the present book. At the end of the book, he includes a brief commentary on the sources heavily used in each chapter. The last six chapters, containing material not treated in the dissertation, are competently and conventionally documented. Drinnon apparently thinks citations are worth while or he would not have used any at all, but he evidently does not think them important enough to the reader to save him great inconvenience. Over and over again, the assertions in the text cry out for documentation, particularly in the early chapters, which have a strongly Freudian interpretation. For example, the only evidence Drinnon advances for his sentence, "Beyond question she [Emma Goldman] was sexually attracted to her father," is a brief quotation in the text which, to me at least, proves nothing of the sort. While basically sympathetic with Drinnon's and with Miss Goldman's politics after she fully matured, I seriously question whether the author has any justification for his frequent political preaching. Editorial comment is common in this book, for example, "Not a generous emotion, capable of prompting a gallant deed, apparently ever moved . . . any . . . official enemy of Emma Goldman." The author's judgments are seldom as sweeping, but he uses exclamation points excessively. There is no unanimity among historians about how much one's point of view should appear in historical writing. Some historians will say that Drinnon has flouted nothing but historians' conventions; others will say that he has not written history. But, the historical moralizing aside, all will find Drinnon's research of great value.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID A. SHANNON

NORMAN THOMAS: RESPECTABLE REBEL. By *Murray B. Seidler*. [Men and Movements Series.] (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 368. \$5.50.) A principal justification for the historical study of a public figure following as closely upon his public career as does this study of Norman Thomas lies in the opportunity for accumulating personal data and impressions from sources that will in time become unavailable. Professor Seidler has been favorably situated to assemble this kind of ephemeral material. He has sought information from many associates of Thomas, from members

of the family, from party leaders, and from Thomas himself. He has had access to personal papers and correspondence, a manuscript autobiography, material in the Columbia Oral History Project, and several Socialist archival collections. Yet the result of all the author's labor is surprisingly meager and disappointing. He professes to be a friend and admirer of Thomas, and although he is constantly mindful of his obligation to be objective and critical, he is unable to take a vantage point from which Thomas' career falls into an illuminating perspective. He admires Thomas, but has no brief for Socialism, and this ambiguity runs throughout the book. Seidler finds it impressive that a native-born white Protestant graduate of Princeton who was admitted by all to be a nice man should have lent respectability to American Socialism by providing leadership during its declining years. But was this a sufficient claim to fame? That the author doubts it himself is indicated by his emphasis on the fact that certain reforms advocated by Socialists were subsequently adopted, notably by the New Deal, although he is careful to disavow any causal relationship. These reforms were what Socialists called "immediate demands," and it was always a controversial issue among them as to whether such demands aided or hindered the Socialist cause. Thomas himself has said flatly that the New Deal killed the Socialist party. Whether or not this opinion constitutes a retrospective judgment on the wisdom of immediate demands from the Socialist viewpoint is not made clear, but it does suggest the superficiality of the author's presentation of Thomas as a "successful failure." The reader may well have sufficient respect for Thomas' convictions to conclude that Seidler admires him for irrelevant reasons.

State University of Iowa

STOW PERSONS

ORIGINS OF THE TVA: THE MUSCLE SHOALS CONTROVERSY, 1920-1932. By *Preston J. Hubbard*. (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1961. Pp. ix, 340. \$6.00.) Although social scientists and technicians in recent years have made innumerable specialized studies of the TVA's operations, historians have devoted surprisingly little attention to its development. The author of this monograph seeks to fill the gap with a detailed account of the congressional controversy over disposal of the Muscle Shoals facilities which became the nucleus for the New Deal project. Beginning with a description of the World War I origins of the dispute, Hubbard traces it through a series of bills relating to the Henry Ford proposals and the suggestions of the presidential commission of 1925, the measures that succumbed to Coolidge's veto, and those of the Hoover era. Hubbard organizes his materials primarily around the chronology of this legislative action. Rather than to strike out with bold interpretations, he performs a service by patiently summarizing congressional debates and hearings. If the style is somewhat formal, the volume is based on thorough research and draws on published government documents, manuscript records of public agencies in the National Archives, personal papers such as those of Senator Norris, and newspapers. Memoirs are curiously omitted, for the bibliography lists only those of Norris, while ignoring pertinent books by Hoover, Pinchot, and La Guardia, or about Carter Glass. Nevertheless, this is a useful work. One of Hubbard's contributions is to identify precisely the nature and objectives of some of the interest groups engaged in the Muscle Shoals affair. He demonstrates that the issue was not simply one between advocates and opponents of public ownership, as some textbooks picture it, but a far more complex struggle in which each of the many diverse pressures sought to achieve its own narrow aims. Especially valuable is the lengthy discussion of Henry Ford's offer to the government which Hubbard, unlike Nevins in his biography of Ford, views with distrust. The study also provides information on leading public figures of the period. Harding and some of his lieutenants appear to good advantage. Hoover emerges as a vacillating opportunist. One puts down this volume with the feeling that a comprehensive history of the TVA within the larger

perspective of national politics, and of municipal, state, and federal power policy would be very desirable, but the present work will be welcomed by scholars for its thorough coverage of one phase—the dispute over Muscle Shoals in Congress.

University of New Mexico

GERALD D. NASH

THE MACHINISTS: A NEW STUDY IN AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISM. By *Mark Perlman*. [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. xvii, 333. \$7.50.) For those to whom "labor" has frequently meant sensational strikes, violence, flamboyant personalities, criminality, or corruption, Mark Perlman's scholarly internal analysis of the machinists, their history, growth, government, and policies—indeed, their collective "personality"—will prove a quietly refreshing corrective. The machinists were both mature and generous; thus Perlman's work is premised upon extensive and varied primary sources. The result is a valuable increment to our understanding of a great union and of the labor movement. Examining the impact of sectionalism, personality, internal politics, interunion rivalry, socialism, economic cycles, government, and community values upon evolution of the union's policies and practices, Perlman maintains as careful an objectivity about its shortcomings as he does about its accomplishments. On balance the machinists appear steady and sober; they are likewise remarkably adaptable. Those prone to attack or defend unions as singularly economic in orientation will find other suggestions here. The more interesting passages relate to the union's democracy: to the staunch localism juxtaposed to an essential democratic centralism emergent in the Grand Lodge, to the interaction of referenda among rank and file with top-level compromising in the legislative process, to compilation of an internal common law and development of a judicial system for protection of individual rights within the corporate entity. Moreover, if imperfect, the union's democracy is viable. For Perlman suggests that growth and development have been mainly "inner directed," owing less to the Wagner Act and gratuities of the New Dealers than I would have suspected. The study suffers some of the vices of its virtues. It is an internal analysis; thus the historical portions seem deficient in broader perspectives. Part I, despite excellent analysis, seems unprofitably tedious. "The Emergence of Collective Agreement" might similarly have prospered with more analysis and relegation of some material to the appendixes. Portions of "The Union and Community Values" appear dilute and unrewarding. Historians may find repeated use of the term "Populist" curious, if not misleading. These are minor flaws. The book is ably done and is in the vanguard of new labor scholarship.

University of Florida

C. K. YEARLEY, JR.

CHICAGO AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT: METROPOLITAN UNIONISM IN THE 1930'S. By *Barbara Warne Newell*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 288. \$6.00.) Although Chicago was not a typical American city and the decade of the 1930's was not a normal period, Dr. Newell has contributed substantially to our knowledge of urban labor organization. She theorizes that urban conditions give particular power to unions of building tradesmen, building service workers, and teamsters, who can easily strangle a city. Strong and active unions in these fields promoted the growth of other unions, especially through their support of the Chicago Federation of Labor under the wise leadership of John Fitzpatrick and Edward N. Nockels. Clothing workers' unions received substantial assistance and in turn drew on their own industrial approach and national organizations to encourage unionization under the Committee for Industrial Organization. During the 1930's these efforts met considerable success in meat packing and also in steel, until the Memorial Day tragedy in 1937. The second part of Dr. Newell's thesis is that local conditions account for variations from one city to

another. "Chicago's mould" was made up of many elements, such as nationality and ethnic patterns, social workers, the attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy, the declining role of the ward boss, and local union history. Depressed economic conditions and the rise of the CIO further complicated labor organization during the 1930's. Leaders of the Chicago federation helped in the early stages of industrial organization and followed the national demand for disassociation with reluctance. The main outlines of the story are well told with few apparent errors and are adequately footnoted, except that personal interviews are identified only by a bibliographical listing, possibly to protect anonymity.

University of Cincinnati

GEORGE B. ENGBERG

HAWAII PONO: A SOCIAL HISTORY. By *Lawrence H. Fuchs*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1961. Pp. ix, 501. \$6.95.) The author's original aim, to study block voting among Hawaii's racial groups, became a "political, economic and social history of modern Hawaii." The preface emphasizes an interpretive history. The subtitle misleads because the volume is not a "social history" but rather a series of essays on race relations, politics, and labor in which Fuchs violates nearly every rule of historical criticism. He selects data to prove a thesis that would be materially altered were all pertinent materials examined and evaluated. He depends heavily upon secondary materials summarized for him by amateurs. He warns against viewing the past in the light of the present and then does so. By choice he prefers the colorful myth over historical fact. Where facts are readily available in standard works, he ignores them, with the result that his historical background is so inaccurate as to be ludicrous. He even contradicts himself, ignores chronology, and misuses proper names. Some of the more improbable statements are hidden under the anonymity of personal interviews and not subject to verification. A number of stories, related with gusto, are apocryphal. If two people told the same story, Fuchs apparently accepted it without question. The accuracy of the individual essay appears to depend upon the creative imagination of the racial or economic group involved. Much of the data on economics and labor follows the extreme Left-wing utterances of the research and publicity agents of the late Honolulu *Record*, which conformed to the Communist line. Such a study as this purports to be is badly needed, but this is not it. Fuchs learned much about Hawaii during the comparatively short time he was in the islands, but, unfortunately, he did not learn enough. The index, too, is inaccurate.

University of Hawaii

CHARLES H. HUNTER

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES. HARRY S. TRUMAN. CONTAINING THE PUBLIC MESSAGES, SPEECHES, AND STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT, APRIL 12 TO DECEMBER 31, 1945. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office for the National Archives. 1961. Pp. xxxi, 668. \$5.50.) This volume makes available in convenient form most of the significant public pronouncements of President Truman in 1945. It is an official document, technically a special edition of the *Federal Register*. It is also part of a continuing series begun in 1957 upon the recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. Annual volumes of the public papers of President Eisenhower are already published, and similar ones for the Kennedy papers are expected for each year of his administration. The regulations established by the Administrative Committee (extracted in "Appendix D") specify that the basic text is to "consist of oral utterances by the President or of writings subscribed by him," to be selected from several categories. The committee further requires that "Ancillary text, notes, and tables shall be derived from official sources only." Warren R. Reid, editor of the present volume, had the assistance of

Truman Library officials and of David D. Lloyd, former administrative assistant to the President. The main text consists of 230 items, arranged in chronological order. The subject index refers to item numbers rather than to the general pagination, a plan that will doubtless confuse casual users. The appendixes list all press releases, presidential documents published in the *Federal Register*, and presidential reports to Congress. Truman's speeches, statements, and official letters are already available, but this compilation is a very great convenience. Of chief interest to historians are the verbatim transcripts of the news conferences. In these, Truman's folksy, salty, direct, and often abrupt personality comes through clearly, and by means of these transcripts the reader is able to detect signs of change in the President as the terrible problems he faced soon began to weigh heavily upon him. Truman is not the only personality who comes through the "officialese" of these public documents. We have, for instance, the word of the unnamed stenographer that the announcement of the appointment of Senator Harold Burton to the United States Supreme Court was greeted by the reporters with "*Subdued laughter and a surprised low whistle.*"

University of Washington

ROBERT E. BURKE

CONSCIENCE IN POLITICS: ADLAI E. STEVENSON IN THE 1950'S. By *Stuart Gerry Brown*. [Men and Movements Series.] (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 313. \$4.50.) The author believes that Adlai Stevenson clearly defined his position on controversial issues in the first campaign and was therefore in a position to become the "conscience in politics." Dwight Eisenhower sought to remain above politics, and this precluded his becoming an effective leader. His popularity mounted while the nation drifted dangerously. Stevenson continued the role he had set for himself as a candidate. He met McCarthyism forthrightly while the President was evasive. He spoke unequivocally on civil rights. He foresaw the dangers that catapulted the world into the Suez crisis of 1956, and he recommended practical steps to avert the breakdown. He "talked sense" on the issue of the Chinese offshore islands. Stevenson, invariably aware of the dangers ahead, spoke out even when he had to say unpopular things. In contrast, the administration glossed over difficulties and postponed decision making. The book supports this thesis with a host of quotations. The extensive use of quotations lends great stature to the highly articulate leader of the Democrats. Stevenson was not only master of the spoken and written word, but he spoke out of deep convictions concerning the nature of democracy, human values, and the obligation of men to employ reason. Herein lay his effectiveness and the reason why history is likely to deal kindly with him. Brown believes that partisanship at its best is a bold and intelligent confrontation of issues. To eschew politics is to abdicate one's responsibility. Eisenhower stood aloof while the great issues, McCarthyism, Suez, and Little Rock, mounted. Brown concludes that Stevenson forced the administration to come to terms with reality and that the campaign of 1960 centered on issues that the former Democratic candidate tirelessly pushed to the fore.

Michigan State University

PAUL A. VARG

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1960. Edited by *Richard P. Stebbins*. With the assistance of *Elaine P. Adam*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1961. Pp. xxi, 583. \$6.95.) Every student of recent American foreign policy owes a debt of gratitude to the *Documents on American Foreign Relations* series, begun in 1939 by the World Peace Foundation and carried on after 1952 by the Council on Foreign Relations. In this latest volume, Richard P. Stebbins continues the tradition of thoughtful selection and careful editing, which has marked the series from the outset. As before, there is little or no commentary on the

documents. This book is designed to be used in conjunction with another Council on Foreign Relations volume, *The United States in World Affairs, 1960*, which contains a narrative description of international relations during the year. Footnote references to appropriate discussions in this volume greatly facilitate its usefulness as a complement to the documentary record. Inevitably, the documents are drawn from the usual published sources, the *Department of State Bulletin*, the *New York Times*, and the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, with the perhaps regrettable but understandable result that United States policy emerges less in its truer aspect of coalition diplomacy in the framework of the Western alliance, and more as unilateral responses to Soviet moves. This is particularly true of the U-2 plane incident, where many overtones are lost, though it is naturally less the case in the treatment of the lengthy disarmament discussions, or the breakdown of the proposed summit conference. The development of the Cuban crisis is fully presented, with the sequence of texts wisely divided by a group of documents dealing with retaliatory actions taken by the United States against the Trujillo regime in the Dominican Republic. This, coupled with the record of the Inter-American Economic Conference at Bogotá, emphasizes the variety of responses by the United States government to the deteriorating situation in Latin America. The Congo tangle is outlined, and much space is allotted to the revision in the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security with Japan. Altogether, this is a useful volume in every way up to the standard of excellence one has learned to expect from Council on Foreign Relations publications.

Hollins College

JOHN A. LOGAN, JR.

THE CANADIAN IDENTITY. By *W. L. Morton*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 125. \$1.50.) Canadian historians at the present time are not only rewriting much of the political and economic history of their Dominion, but have undertaken to formulate certain generalizations about Canadian history, some of which have great value in elucidating the significance of the rather dry political annals. Professor Morton is especially gifted in writing this kind of generalized history. The first essay in this volume, which retells the whole story from the first incursions of the Vikings to the establishment of British North America as a transcontinental entity, is extraordinarily successful. His guiding theme is that, while the United States was realizing its western destiny, Canada was working out what has always been its essential character, that of a northern civilization. His analysis of the northern economy and summary of the geographical essentials of the Dominion, showing why Canada from the beginning to the end of her history has never really escaped from her northern destiny, are to my mind the best sections of the book. His stress on the continuity of development and the extent to which the era of British rule is in all important respects an inevitable sequel to the centuries of development under France presents a more controversial line of reasoning, but is certainly worthy of attention. Of the four essays in the volume, the least satisfactory is the treatment of relations with the United States. The essay should, it is true, be compulsory reading for American students because it shows how tactless and bungling our diplomacy often is and how much reform is needed in our international manners. There seems cause for criticism, however, in the failure to come to grips with the effects that flow from the enormous investment of American capital in Canada since the outbreak of the Second World War. Morton elsewhere calls attention to the fact that the Canadian economy is necessarily dependent either on Great Britain or the United States, yet he scarcely alludes to the fact that in the future the financing of Canadian enterprise is almost certainly to be more and more a function of banks and corporations centered in New York. Are the present ill feelings and resentment of Canadians against the United States owing to this fact? And, if they are,

what adjustments are needed in order to reduce such friction to a minimum? In a book that presents a brilliant analysis of so many of the fundamental factors of Canadian history, this aspect of the present relations between the two countries should not be passed over lightly.

Bryn Mawr College

HELEN TAFT MANNING

CANADA AND THE PRIVY COUNCIL. By *Coen G. Pierson*. (London: Stevens and Sons; distrib. by Carswell Company, Toronto. 1960. Pp. xii, 119.) Gradualism in the progress of autonomy in the British Empire and Commonwealth appears clearly in this book which describes Canadian dependence in final appeal on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which sits in London, until the right of appeal was abolished by action of the Canadian Parliament in 1949. That the Judicial Committee was not established as a court in 1833 made no difference for as the author points out "its functions are, in practice, those of a court." Its members comprise British judges and judges from courts from which appeals are made. This book is significant in several ways. It treats a difficult subject with clarity, it is forthright in its approach, and the writing is lucid. The only errors to be noted are the misspelling of the names of Sir Georges Étienne Cartier, referred to as Carter; Letellier de St. Just, spelled Litellier; and an unaccountable reference to Mr. Vincent Massey, the first Canadian to serve as governor-general, as Viscount Massey. Emphasis is properly placed on the origin and development of the Judicial Committee, appeals to it from Canadian courts, growth of opposition to appeals, and Canadian opinion and the end of appeals. The distinctive contribution here is the analysis of the decisions of the Judicial Committee and the criticism in Canada of the Committee's "interpretation and definition of the scope of dominion and provincial powers." When, in addition, the constitutional imbalance in favor of the provinces brought about by decisions in the 1930's and 1940's, the growth of nationalism, and the rising cost of appeals are considered, it is small wonder that Canada took advantage of the right defined by the Judicial Committee in 1947 to abolish appeals two years later, thereby taking the final step to complete autonomy in all matters internal and external.

Albany, New York

ALBERT B. COREY

CRÓNICA DE LA ORDEN FRANCISCANA EN LA CONQUISTA DEL PERÚ, PARAGUAY Y EL TUCUMÁN Y SU CONVENTO DEL ANTIGUO BUENOS AIRES, 1212-1800. By *Andrés Millé*. (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores. 1961. Pp. 501.) Andrés Millé writes religious history with both devotion and objectivity—no easy task. He would have been pleased, for example, to have found proof that a priest accompanied Columbus on his first voyage. He states frankly, however, that though various writers have maintained that a priest was a member of the first voyage, there is no evidence to support this contention. The *Crónica* begins with an account of the convent of La Rábida, in the port of Palos, which figured so prominently in the Columbus story. It moves on to the conquest of the islands, Tierra Firme, Peru, and the Plata region. The first 210 pages of text are devoted to the period before 1600. The remaining 116 pages concern Franciscan activities, primarily in the Plata, from 1600 to 1808. In addition to the text there is an appendix of 140 pages of documents concerning the Franciscans and their experiences. One of the most interesting of these is the letter of Fr. Juan de Rivadeneira, *comisario del Tucumán y Río de la Plata*, relating his capture by an English corsair in 1582.

University of Florida

DONALD E. WORCESTER

THE HISTORY OF THE WEST INDIAN ISLANDS OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, 1498-1900. By *Gertrude Carmichael*. (London: Alvin Redman. 1961. Pp.

463. 425.) The title of this book is somewhat misleading. Three hundred years of Spanish rule in Trinidad are presented in just twenty-eight pages, while four hundred pages are devoted to one hundred years of British rule. The period leading to the development of autonomy and independence of the islands is entirely missing. The author apparently has not studied the rich original foreign sources. Her presentation of non-British rule is, therefore, quite unreliable and contains scores of grave errors, misinterpretations, and significant omissions. Strangely enough, she does not mention her scholarly predecessors, Pierre-Gustave-Louis Borde and Sir Claude Hollis, though she gives credit to some authors whose books appeared at least a century ago. On the other hand, her book is tremendously valuable as a source for the study of the British rule in the islands. Working there as an archivist and librarian, she has preserved hundreds of valuable but perishable and previously neglected British documents and other materials and has made extensive use of them in this book. The scope of work is limited to the islands only, and the approach is that of a local chronicler rather than a critical historian. Notwithstanding its shortcomings, this handsome volume is a step forward in the study of the British rule in Trinidad and contains important material for further studies. The short chapter on Tobago, however, is insignificant and unreliable in regard to the period before 1815.

San Jose State College

EDGAR ANDERSON

FLORENTINE CODEX. Book 10, THE PEOPLE. Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations by *Charles E. Dibble* and *Arthur J. O. Anderson*. [Monographs of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, Number 14, Part XI.] (Santa Fe, N. Mex.: School of American Research and University of Utah. 1961. Pp. 197. \$9.00.) In *The People* the sixteenth-century Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún described the individuals and groups that made up Aztec civilization. As in other books of the *Códice Florentino* he arrived at a sympathetic understanding of Aztec life through carefully chosen informants, recording his data in Náhuatl and Spanish. The Dibble-Anderson edition provides the Náhuatl text and a careful translation into English, with occasional notes referring to Sahagún's Spanish versions. Since the original Náhuatl and the original Spanish were not exact equivalents, the English translation includes details not present in any Spanish text. The notes are further informative on linguistic problems, verbal variants, and technical identifications. Members of families, members of professional craft groups, and other Aztec types are described in parallel normative categories: the good father and the bad father, the good carpenter and the bad carpenter, the good wise man and the bad wise man. Early Spanish introductions are reflected in references to sellers of wheat flour, shoes, and Spanish meats. All the descriptions contain insights into Aztec attitudes and economic practices, the pejoratives and the details of adulterations and frauds being of exceptional interest. There follow an Aztec glossary relating to the parts of the body and their attributes and a textual section on the malfunctioning of the body's organs. Native American physiology has rarely been set forth in such detail as in these portions of Sahagún's work. Finally Sahagún enumerates the migrant peoples of Mexican prehistory, concluding with the Mexica, who were the principal creators of the Aztec empire. The 197 illustrations originally published by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso are reproduced.

State University of Iowa

CHARLES GIBSON

COLECCIÓN DE DOCUMENTOS RELATIVOS A LA HISTORIA DE LAS ISLAS MALVINAS. Volume II-III (1766-1767). Introduction by *Ricardo R. Caillet*.

Bois. [Documentos para la historia argentina, Number 28. Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani."] (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. [1961.] Pp. 317.) Number 28 of the series *Documentos para la historia argentina* comprises Volumes II and III of the collection of documents on the history of the Falkland Islands and embraces documents ranging from September 22, 1766, to January 1767 (see *AHR*, LXVI [Oct. 1960], 246). This is the period of diplomatic discussions brought on by the presence of the English in the archipelago. Seldom has such a verbal duel taken place over the possession of territory. In 1766 Choiseul wanted war postponed for at least eighteen months. In 1767 he wanted it postponed for two years. Here lies perhaps the secret of Britain's success in the Falklands.

University of Colorado

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN

BOLÍVAR VISTO POR SUS CONTEMPORÁNEOS. By *José Luis Busaniche*. (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1960. Pp. 338.) In United States history the interested historian often complains, "another book about the Civil War, another Lincoln biography"! The Latin Americanist has his cry, "another Bolívar biography"! Indeed this book is another Bolívar biography and certainly not the best one. But it has value and is not just "another biography of Bolívar." José Luis Busaniche has collected memoirs and other sorts of descriptions of Bolívar by contemporaries who dealt with the Liberator. There are such men as Simón Rodríguez, Francisco de Miranda, John Miller and Joseph Andrews, Burdett O'Connor, and many others. From these descriptions an intimate picture of Bolívar emerges. All the sources used by the author make Bolívar a man of energy, sympathy, and great brilliance. The Bolívar of the Busaniche book is not a new Bolívar, but supports such scholarly or lighter treatments as those of Masur, Ludwig, and Waldo Frank. At the same time, the whole book with its partisan selection is slanted toward the heroic and good Bolívar. Busaniche did not select even a few of the many strongly or mildly unsympathetic descriptions of his subject. One technical feature in this book is annoying. It is most difficult to distinguish Busaniche's writing from that of the sources. Instead of putting the latter in quotes or different print or with different margins, it is thoroughly fused with the author's. The citations accounting for the selections are indistinguishable from the other footnotes. It is a most complicated task to segregate author from source. Those who like Madariaga's Bolívar, but feel some annoyance with Madariaga's sassy anti-Bolivarianism, might find in Busaniche's book a mild antidote. On my shelf the Busaniche book will be placed next to Madariaga's Bolívar, but I still value my Masur and recommend J. B. Trend's biography for my undergraduates.

University of South Florida

CHARLES W. ARNADE

PROCERATO PUERTORRIQUEÑO DEL SIGLO XIX (HISTORIA DE LOS PARTIDOS POLÍTICOS PUERTORRIQUEÑOS, DESDE SUS ORÍGENES HASTA 1898). By *Bolívar Pagán*. (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Editorial Campos. 1961. Pp. 587.) As its subtitle indicates, this posthumous book is a companion to the author's two-volume *Historia de los partidos políticos puertorriqueños (1898-1956)* (1959). The *procerato* of the title refers to Puerto Rico's nineteenth-century leaders who resisted Spanish oppression. Biographical vignettes of many of them are scattered through the book. The first political parties officially organized in Puerto Rico were the Conservative (1869) and the Reformist Liberal (1870). This history opens with a brief account of political events in Spain after 1810 which served to kindle party sentiments on the island. Attention then focuses on the 1865-1898 period. A distinction is drawn at the outset between Puerto Rican political life under Spain in the nineteenth century and

under the United States in the twentieth. In this century Puerto Rico's constitutional development has not been determined by an ideology peculiar to either of the two leading American political parties. The involvement with the Spanish political scene was much closer. The mother country's brusque changes of regime and governmental form made their telling impact on Puerto Rican politics of the nineteenth century, and the author found that he had to refer repeatedly to platforms and leaders of the Spanish parties. What he failed to point out is that the status options causing partisanship among Puerto Ricans a century ago (*asimilismo*, *autonomismo*, and *separatismo*) still have close parallels under the American flag. Source materials for this study were drawn in part from the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, the National Archives in Washington, and contemporary newspapers. Many lengthy documents, uncut and unidentified as to provenience, are incorporated into the narrative, to the extent that the pages of documents, even excluding appendixes, outnumber those of text. This rambling presentation lacks essential socioeconomic material and fails to offer critical analyses of political platforms and leaders. A flagrant instance of the author's insular perspective occurs when he allows the abortive little insurrection of Lares (1868) to remind him of the military reversals of Washington, Bolívar, and the Cid. As a reviewer of the companion volumes observed (*AHR*, LXV [Jan. 1960], 401), Bolívar Pagán was not concerned with "unofficial" political history. The main utility of the present book therefore lies in its copious documentation.

State University of New York, Long Island Center

RICHARD M. MORSE

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General

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¹ The lists of articles are compiled by the section editors whose names appear. The listed books are those received by the *Review* between October 15, 1961, and January 15, 1962.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

The Washington Meeting, 1961

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington was novel in that it was held in two hotels. Because the Sheraton Park and Shoreham Hotels offered ample facilities for the more than three thousand persons registered and numerous others who attended, the congestion at the 1958 meeting was avoided. The inconveniences of division between the two establishments were more than balanced by the comforts. There was even a gain in health, for some members of the Association, being forced to move from one hotel to the other, occasionally went outdoors into fresh air, contrary to their habit. The Local Arrangements Committee, David J. Brandenburg (chairman), Richard H. Bauer, Manoel Cardozo, Byron Fairchild, William M. Franklin, William Haskett, Thomas T. Helde, Charles J. Herber, Williston H. Lofton, Arthur K. Marmor, John Miller, Jr., Albert Mott, Daniel J. Reed, and Wilcomb E. Washburn, smoothly provided for all the necessary arrangements.

At every meeting of the Association it is sadly observed that some members fail to appear. The following telegram expresses the concern of a well-known member who was unable to attend:

I REGRET VERY MUCH THAT I CANNOT JOIN MY
FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION FOR THEIR ANNUAL DINNER THIS EVENING.
I HAVE BEEN PRIVILEGED TO READ PROFESSOR BEMIS'
PREPARED ADDRESS WHICH SUMS UP A LIFETIME OF
SCHOLARSHIP AND HISTORICAL CRAFTSMANSHIP. THE
WHOLE ASSOCIATION DESERVES SPECIAL COMMENDATION
FOR ENABLING A REPUBLICAN FROM YALE TO MAKE
GOOD ON THE NEW FRONTIER.

TO THE ASSOCIATION AND TO ALL OF ITS
MEMBERS I SEND WARMEST GOOD WISHES AND THE
GRATITUDE OF THIS NATION FOR THE TRADITIONS AND
STANDARDS WHICH THEY HAVE SUSTAINED. WITH EVERY
GOOD WISH,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

The program was a varied one, an attempt being made to care for as many of the diverse interests of the historical profession as possible. It was prepared by a committee consisting of John R. Alden (chairman), Marvin Brown, Lester Cappon, Paul H. Clyde, Clifford Foust, Dewey Grantham, Loren MacKinney, and J. Joseph Mathews. As usual, the committee was assisted by many individuals, including the Executive Secretary and officers of several groups that participated in joint sessions with the Association. Though no official theme was adopted, the

history of liberty was emphasized. The committee adopted an ordinance denying places on the program to its members; it also undertook to find and to present as much new talent as possible, wherever it might be. Sessions were initiated in various ways, some by the chairmen of history departments, others by cooperating groups, still others by enterprising, helpful, and unofficial members, and many by the committee itself. Many who attended the meeting observed that the sessions completely filled the three-day period. So many fine papers are now prepared that they must be spread, and it can no longer be assumed that those offered toward the close of the meeting are "left-overs" of less appeal. In fact, several important papers attractive to large constituencies were read in the afternoon of the last day.

So wide (and so deep) are the interests of historians that the various sessions do not fall into any simple pattern. The following summaries, based on the reports of the chairmen of the sessions, cover first those meetings of interest to all historical students and teachers, then those in some newer fields, and finally those in the traditional and conventional ones.

In a spirited session on "History as the Story of Liberty," under the chairmanship of Geoffrey Bruun, Ithaca, New York, Gertrude Himmelfarb (Mrs. Irving Kristol) of New York City offered an analysis of Lord Acton's views on history, stressing his conviction that liberty and morality are absolute standards and that liberalism is "a thoroughly revolutionary doctrine." Hayden V. White, University of Rochester, who had undertaken to dissect Benedetto Croce's philosophy of history, could not attend, but his paper was presented by his Rochester colleague, Willson H. Coates. The paper emphasized Croce's consistency and his concern to "restore the confidence of liberals in their own ethical tradition." As commentator, Fritz Stern praised "Miss Himmelfarb's beautifully wrought paper," but dissented from it. He suggested that Acton's "moral absolutism" was "an escape from history" and found Croce's more complex views more truthful. In the lively discussion that followed, Croce was largely ignored, but Acton found defenders.

Robert F. Durden, Duke University, presided over a session on "The Superior Student" in the absence of T. C. Mendenhall, Smith College. Norman D. Kurland, University of Colorado, presented a paper on "Honors Programs in History." He described the varying approaches to honors work being used in history departments at a rapidly increasing number of institutions over the country. Suggesting that the honors program is "a symbol to all that the institution stands for, and can achieve, the highest standards of excellence in both teaching and scholarship," Kurland also emphasized the good effects of the better honors programs upon both high schools and graduate schools. Wilbur Jacobs and Robin Winks commented.

A joint session with the Society for the History of Technology, under the chairmanship of Leonard Carmichael, Smithsonian Institution, considered a very different matter, "The Role of Technology before World War I." A paper by Reynold Wik, Mills College, challenged the popular notion that Americans possess an extraordinary amount of technical knowledge and that, of all people, they best know how to get things done. He pointed out that historical scholarship still fails to give full attention to the role of technology in society. A second paper,

by Cyril Black, Princeton University, dealt with Russian technology. He described the rise of an autonomous technological tradition in Russia, where the initiative of the state was important in this development. He indicated that Western histories have neglected Russian technological contributions. R. S. Woodbury gave formal comment. He emphasized the importance of detailed investigation of specific mechanical devices, such as machine tools, in tracing the history of technology. R. P. Multhauf and other members of the audience took part in a constructive discussion.

Listed on the program was also a joint gathering with the History of Science Society under the title "Scientific Discovery as a Historical Problem." Though the chairman did not report, it seems to have met as scheduled, with Charles C. Gillispie, Princeton University, and Thomas S. Kuhn, University of California, Berkeley, offering respectively papers on "The Intellectual Background of Probability in Physics" and "The Historical Structure of Discovery." If plans did not go awry, Jacques Barzun and Franklin L. Baumer commented.

An orthodox session in ancient history with a title that was unorthodoxly imprecise and not entirely pleasing to its scholarly participants dealt with "Social Justice in the Greco-Roman World." Papers were read by Donald Kagan, Cornell University, Morton Smith, Columbia University, and Henry C. Boren, University of North Carolina, with comments on the first two by Richard C. Smith, and on the third by Donald W. Bradeen. J. F. Gilliam, University of Oregon, was chairman. Kagan, dealing with Greece to the fourth century, interpreted a series of episodes and developments as part of a conscious struggle for social justice. He also explained the stability of fifth- and fourth-century Athens as the result of a broad democracy and a large middle class. Covering the years from 323 to 190 B.C., Morton Smith argued that it is not enough to show that Greeks had a concept of justice and made social changes; one must relate the concept and changes as cause and effects. In his period he found little evidence for any such relationship. Boren, concentrating on the late Roman Republic, stressed a Greek influence derived both from formal Greek thought and from the presence in Rome of a growing element in the population, which was Greek in origin, in the demand for reforms. Bread, circuses, and other benefits in the end satisfied the protest against an unequal division of spoils of empire. Richard Smith commented that there were fewer differences between the periods covered by Kagan and Morton Smith than in their approaches. In both periods social conflicts were present, but he was inclined to agree with Smith and concluded that concern for abstract social justice was less important than narrow self-interest. Bradeen regarded Greek influence as less important than Boren and felt that the conflict of the orders showed a clearer concept of social justice.

Specialists in both ancient and medieval history, with others, participated in an analysis of "Problems Relating to Freedom in the Pre-Modern World." Four papers were read, the two on the ancient period, referring to Greece and Rome, by J. A. O. Larsen, University of Missouri, and Mason Hammond, Harvard University, respectively. Larsen assumed that, "for both the individual and for the state," the Greeks enjoyed more freedom than other peoples of the ancient world, but this freedom was beset by obstacles. Within the city-state itself numerous

groups—helots, slaves, and resident foreigners—were excluded; in their relations with other states, large and small cities constantly sought to assert their hegemony over their neighbors. In his paper Hammond discussed the shift in Rome during the first century of the Principate, from the “domination of government by powerful individuals” to the rule of Nerva, who, in the words of Tacitus, “mingled things long incompatible, principate and liberty.” Liberty could then be defined, said Hammond, as “freedom from arbitrary domination, or constitutional government by a prince with the cooperation of the Senate and in accordance with tradition and law.” Continuing the discussion into the medieval period, J. B. Ross, Vassar College, and Oswald P. Backus, University of Kansas, read papers on freedom in Western and Central Europe and in Muscovite Russia, respectively. The former raised the question whether, in the period primarily of the eleventh through the thirteenth century, men were interested in “liberties” or “liberty.” After a considerable sampling of cases, wherein noble or burgher fought for the vindication of special rights or privileges, she concluded that they were interested in both. The picture changes in moving eastward to the Russia of the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, where the problem of freedom involved the efforts of the nobles to maintain or increase “liberties” possessed by them in the face of a developing Muscovite Empire. Backus pointed out that further research and analysis are needed before a firm conclusion can be reached relative to the erosion of noble privileges and the “extent of imperial regimentation.” Favorable comments on the four papers by James Oliver and Brian Tierney followed.

About two hundred persons interested in medieval history gathered to listen to six papers concerning “New Trends” in that field. J. Wesley Hoffmann, University of Tennessee, presided. Jeffrey Russell, University of New Mexico, indicated that medieval heresy as distinguished from ancient, more speculative heresy began about A.D. 725. He declared that heresy must be studied from the records, diocese by diocese, since it was constantly redefined even within local communities. Howard L. Adelson, City College of New York, held that the newer trend in the interpretation of medieval economic history began with A. Dopsch and that it refutes the completeness of economic inactivity in the Merovingian period. It follows that the so-called Carolingian economic renaissance has been exaggerated. John Hugh Hill, University of Houston, observed that recent trends in the search for the backgrounds of the First Crusade turn less to religious and ecclesiastical fields than to economic and political fields and to the area of cultural conflicts. Byzantine and Moslem studies have led to this shift of emphasis. He suggested that the account of the First Crusade by Raymond of Agiles should be read as literature and propaganda. This sort of approach reveals the crusade to have been a complex movement. John Beeler, Woman’s College of the University of North Carolina, concluded that medieval generalship was probably no more bungling than modern generalship and that modern commanders could profit from a study of medieval campaigns, notably those of Stephen of Blois. According to Beeler, Stephen was well aware of the requirements of guerrilla warfare. George P. Cuttino, Emory University, explored the resources for the study of English rule in Gascony. Edward I required that constables in Gascony transfer their records to the “home office,” but the enforcement of the requirement proved

difficult. Thus archives of English rule in Gascony and Aquitaine are to be found in London and in private collections. The latter in some cases have been transferred to Paris. Robert Brentano, University of California, Berkeley, compared Italian church archives with church archives in England. A fundamental difference arises from the fact that churches in Italy were autonomous. They had little guidance in the matter of records from Rome or from the local feudal government.

In a session on "Humanism and Ideas of Liberty in the Northern Renaissance," presided over by Myron P. Gilmore, Harvard University, Eugene Rice, Cornell University, gave the first paper. He emphasized the importance of Lefèvre d'Étaples and the extent to which his ideas of human nature were derived from the early Greek fathers. He suggested that Lefèvre d'Étaples and his circle "attributed to man a significant degree of moral freedom" which he further found to be a characteristic of the humanist movement in general. He called attention to the fact that the French humanists of the first quarter of the sixteenth century were not concerned with political liberty except in so far as they defended corporate privileges and that they were almost without exception loyal to the monarchy and to the ecclesiastical establishment. These ties caused them to remain Catholic after the crisis of the Reformation. Lewis Spitz, Stanford University, read a paper on the humanists of Germany from Agricola to Luther. He found that they did not concern themselves with abstract speculation on liberty. They did, however, achieve a degree of freedom by removing themselves from various forms of distracting obligations, by affirming the ancient corporate liberties, and by attacking Rome. Spitz further dealt with the question of freedom of the will in the thought of Erasmus and Luther, and in conclusion analyzed the relationships of humanist thought to the preceding intellectual tradition. Roland Bainton commented on both papers, examining the similarities and the differences between the French and German scenes.

A joint session with the American Society for Reformation Research, with Theodore G. Tappert, Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, as chairman, dealt with two minority religious leaders of the sixteenth century, Menno Simons and Caspar Schwenckfeld. The occasion for a reassessment of their role in the Reformation was not only the observance in 1961 of the four hundredth anniversaries of their deaths but also the publication during the last few decades of a vast quantity of critically edited sources. Hans Hillerbrand, Duke University, pointed out that Menno Simons had a singularly bad press among his contemporaries, but that in historical perspective he must be acknowledged as the most eloquent spokesman of the Anabaptist movement. Paul L. Maier, Western Michigan University, described Caspar Schwenckfeld as the reformer of the middle way and as "the farthest right of the left wing." Commenting on the papers, Franklin H. Littell suggested the importance of the two reformers for the ecumenical movement today, and George H. Williams illustrated their relation to patristic thought and called for more investigation into this relationship.

In view of the centenary of the founding of the kingdom of Italy, that country's history received more attention than usual. "Freedom versus Constraint in the Creation of the Kingdom of Italy—A Centennial Reappraisal" was discussed in a joint session with the Society for Italian Historical Studies, of which R. John

Rath, University of Texas, was chairman. Paul Schroeder, Concordia Senior College, presented a paper on "Austria as an Obstacle to Italian Freedom and Unification, 1814-1861." He argued that Austria lost control of Italy not because it lacked popular support or sufficient power, but because it failed to retain international support for its leadership in Italy. Metternich was successful in preserving the prevailing international attitudes and sanctions upon which Austria's leadership rested. Schwarzenberg continued Metternich's policy, with favorable results. Only after Schwarzenberg's death did Austria depart from Metternich's course, thereby undermining its position in Italy. A. William Salomone, New York University, discussed "Risorgimento and Reconstruction: The Risorgimento between Ideology and History." He analyzed the attempts of various postwar historians to use the concept of *rivoluzione mancata* to explain the entire course of Italian history from the *risorgimento* to the fall of Fascism and deplored their efforts to wage an ideological war against *risorgimento* and "Liberal Italy" with the implicit or conscious intention of justifying practical, political, or moral attitudes and partisan action in post-Fascist Italy. Several historians like Federico Chabod have recently led the way to a *ritorno alla ragione* which may restore the *risorgimento* and Liberal eras to their proper status as objects not of ideological warfare but of historical study. The commentator, Kent Roberts Greenfield, pointed out that Schroeder's paper could be read to imply that if Austria's policy had remained constant from 1815 to 1861, Austria might have averted the crisis that resulted in the emergence of Italy as a unified state in 1861.

"Napoleon III and Italy" was the theme of a second session on modern Italy, presided over by Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania. Nancy Nichols Barker, University of Texas, discussed Austro-French relations on the Venetian question between 1860 and 1866. On several occasions France tried to persuade Austria to give up Venetia by monetary or territorial compensation, even with an inducement of undoing Italian unification, but conservative and suspicious Austria rejected these offers and thus lost the chance of obtaining a French alliance and Italian dissolution, and in the end, lost Venetia anyway. S. William Halperin, University of Chicago, discussed Italy's policy regarding the July crisis of 1870. Napoleon III relied too much on hopes of having Italy and Austria as allies. In Italy, Victor Emmanuel II wanted to become France's ally in return for the French withdrawal from Rome, but his ministers, Visconti-Venosta and Sella, had successfully insisted upon Italian neutrality. Charles W. Hallberg, commenting upon Dr. Barker's paper, felt that it was not so much Austria's conservatism as it was its ineptitude and the miscalculations of Napoleon III and Bismarck that brought defeat and loss of Venetia in 1866. In his comments on the July crisis, Willard A. Fletcher felt that more emphasis needs to be given to Napoleon III's incompetence and overconfidence. Napoleon seemed to delude himself with the unfounded assurance that the Roman question could be adjusted when a war crisis arose.

Howard R. Marraro, Columbia University, served as chairman of a joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association. Richard A. Webster, University of California, Berkeley, spoke on the Italian leftist insurrection of June 1914 that failed because of inadequate organization and effective police

action. Webster indicated that Premier Salandra was frightened by it and that he promoted Italy's entrance into World War I partially to strengthen the monarchy at the expense of parliamentary democracy. Mario Einaudi, Cornell University, in a paper on "The Political Justification of Italian Christian Democracy, 1919-1925," claimed that the Popular party of Dom Sturzo was necessary after 1919 because the parliamentary system was inadequately served by the bourgeois liberal parties. Donald A. Limoli commented. In the discussion it was pointed out that the Catholic party allied itself with the bourgeois liberals rather than the Social Democrats.

A session on "Nationalism and Liberalism in German Unification, 1812-1871," which met under the chairmanship of Theodore S. Hamerow, University of Wisconsin, sought to reassess the political forces shaping Central Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. Enno E. Krache, University of Kentucky, dealt with Metternich's policy, maintaining that the Austrian statesman was interested above all in protecting Germany against excessive Russian influence. Otto Pflanze, University of Minnesota, suggested that historians have exaggerated the strength of liberalism and nationalism in Central Europe during the 1860's. Hohenzollern authoritarianism and Prussian militarism made German unification possible. In his comments, Robert A. Kann contended that Metternich's attempt to create an effective power system in Germany was motivated by considerations of domestic as well as foreign policy. Frederic B. M. Hollyday, another commentator, held that while the liberals may have been weak in numbers, their wealth and education gave them considerable political influence.

A subject of enduring interest, "Diplomatic Documentary Publication," occupied another session. Raymond J. Sontag, University of California, Berkeley, read a paper on "The German Diplomatic Papers: Publication after Two Wars." The first publication was the famous collection *Die Grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914*, issued by the German government in 1922-1927 to refute the contention of the Allies that the imperial German government was responsible for the First World War. Sontag defended the publication against the charge of tendentiousness and concluded that it was "as complete as could be expected in a collection dealing with the recent past." *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, were, on the other hand, published by the British, French, and United States governments. As the first editor in chief for the United States, he could declare that the editors were "allowed to see all documents and to select for publication all documents they believed important for an understanding of German foreign policy." He expressed his satisfaction that the West German government is now participating in the work of editing. Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University, offered "A Centennial Estimate" of *Foreign Relations of the United States*, which began to appear in 1861. The early volumes differed greatly in value, sometimes being little more than propaganda and often omitting important documents. Since 1921 trained historians have done the editing. Because many more volumes are now needed than before 1914, publication has gradually lagged until, in 1961, it was twenty years behind. Two obstacles in the way of overcoming this are the reduction in the number of historians on the staff and the increasing difficulty of obtaining clearance for the publication

of documents. Leopold hoped that a directive signed by President Kennedy in September 1961 would facilitate the clearance of papers. Bernadotte Schmitt of Alexandria, Virginia, was chairman of the session, and Oron J. Hale and Robert H. Ferrell commented.

According to the printed program, historians considered military as well as diplomatic phases of World Wars I and II. It listed a joint session with the American Military Institute entitled "Strategy and Military History." Richard D. Challenger, Princeton University, was scheduled to read a paper concerning "Strategy of the First World War and the Neglect of History," and Richard M. Leighton, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, was to give one on "Strategy of World War II: Historical Foundations." Irving B. Holley was to comment. Apparently Challenger, Leighton, and Holley did what they were expected to do.

A joint session with the Conference Group for Central European History dealt with "Anti-Democratic Tendencies in Central Europe before 1933." The paper of Andrew Whiteside, Queens College, on "Austrian National Socialism before 1918" was concerned with the history of the German Workers' party (*Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*), founded in 1904 at Trautenau in Bohemia. Under the leadership of such men as Rudolf Jung and Walter Riehl, it elected three members to the *Reichsrat* in 1911. In 1918 it became the *Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei* and in 1919 federated with the newly formed NSDAP across the border. By 1926 the Austrian leaders of the party had acknowledged the personal leadership of Hitler. Klemens von Klemperer, Smith College, read a paper on "Chancellor Seipel, the Christian Social Tradition, and the Austrian Republic," in part a protest against the views of Gulick. He saw in Seipel a "liberal" Catholic politician helping to bring about a nonviolent transition from monarchy to republic, and pleaded for a less partisan recognition of the political complexities Seipel had to face. Seipel was called a "democrat of reason rather than sentiment" who misunderstood the danger of the *Heimwehr* in his later years. Even if Seipel was willing to tolerate dictatorship as a temporary expedient, only with Dollfuss could one speak of a fusion of authoritarianism and Fascism to form "Austrofascism." Marion Rappe directed his comment chiefly at von Klemperer's paper. In support of Gulick's views, he asserted that nondemocratic tendencies in the Social Democratic party had been exaggerated. He insisted that Seipel had played an important part in the destruction of Austrian democracy. Edgar N. Johnson, Brandeis University, presided.

Stanley G. Payne, University of Minnesota, presented the only paper in a gathering devoted to "Twentieth-Century Spanish Nationalism." After an opening statement on terminology and the historical background, Payne dealt with the development of Spanish nationalism from the emergence of the "Generation of 1898" to 1960. His conclusions were largely negative. Outside of a small intellectual elite, little evidence of effective Spanish nationalism was found until the *Falange* took shape as a subversive group under the Republic and became the country's only legal political party under the Franco regime. Payne then noted that since the 1940's, nationalism has subsided with the *Falange's* loss of influence and the increasing commitment of the regime to internationalism. Among the

factors adverse to Spanish nationalism, Payne stressed the attitudes of the armed forces and the middle class and Catalan and Basque particularism. Three prepared comments followed the paper. Hans Kohn underlined the resemblances between Spain and tsarist Russia with respect to nationalism, José M. Sánchez discussed the role of the Catholic Church in Spain during this period, and José Ferrater Mora found more evidence of Spanish nationalism from the fifteenth century on and reopened the question of terminology. The chairman was Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

Three sessions were held in the field of English history. Barnaby C. Keeney, Brown University, presided over one devoted to "Warrior Kings in English Government," at which three papers were presented. C. Warren Hollister, University of California, Santa Barbara, discussed "The Irony of English Feudalism under William the Conqueror and His Sons." His two main points were that the transition from Anglo-Saxon to Anglo-Norman military organization was not so abrupt as sometimes supposed and that Anglo-Norman feudalism was not so orderly as is sometimes thought. Bertie Wilkinson, University of Toronto, described "Edward IV and Fifteenth-Century Government." Wilkinson presented Edward IV as an abler and more liberal king than he is generally considered and emphasized his appeal to the people. Stephen B. Baxter, University of North Carolina, in his paper, "William the Third: The Professional Soldier in a Civilian Society," showed that reorganization of the French and British land forces resulted not only in a more efficient military machine but a more humane one and assigned William III considerable responsibility for "cleaning up" war in this period. Robert S. Hoyt praised all three papers, but questioned several points of interpretation.

A joint session with the Conference on British Studies on "Recent Scholarship on Edmund Burke" was well attended. In a paper on "The Burke Revival" Carl B. Cone, University of Kentucky, analyzed the various factors that have stimulated a restudy of Burke in recent decades: the opening to scholars of the great collection of Burke papers at Sheffield; the renewed American interest in the political history and philosophy of the eighteenth century; and the rise of a new American conservatism. A second paper, "Burke as Historian," by Thomas H. D. Mahoney, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was read by his brother, Professor Mahoney of Boston College. Burke's chief claim as a historian, the paper declared, lies in the embodiment of references to the past in his writings and speeches. John C. Weston commented, with Lawrence H. Gipson, Lehigh University, in the chair.

Some of the dilemmas of "British Liberalism in Three Critical Decades" were isolated and analyzed in a session under the direction of David Owen, Harvard University. Three papers, as the commentator noted, attempted "from differing standpoints to explain the dissipation of Liberal influence and the decline of Liberal power." In discussing the 1880's, D. C. Cresap Moore, University of California, Los Angeles, examined the Liberal collapse in local constituencies in the elections of 1885 and 1886 and the consequent frustration of hopes for a period of Liberal ascendancy aroused by the Reform Acts of 1884-1885. Peter D. L. Stansky, Harvard University, described the complicated and unhappy contests

over party leadership that followed Gladstone's retirement. He argued persuasively that they were more directly responsible for the impotence of the party than failure to develop an appealing social program. Philip Poirier, Ohio State University, deplored the tendency to dismiss Edwardian Liberalism as a bankrupt creed and to regard the Liberal government of Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith as confused and inept. By and large, he urged, this was an able and imaginative administration, and the ruin of the party could be attributed primarily to the wartime and postwar maneuverings of its leaders, chiefly, of course, Lloyd George. As commentator, Henry R. Winkler stressed the importance of disagreement on foreign policy as a source of liberal disintegration.

In a joint session with the recently established American Committee for Irish Studies the topic was "The Catholic Church and Secular Affairs in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Ireland"; John Hall Stewart, Western Reserve University, acted as chairman. Robert E. Burns, University of Notre Dame, discussed "Parsons, Priests, and the People, 1785-1789: The Rise of Irish Anticlericalism." He traced the development of anticlericalism from economic distress, constitutional agitation, and the impact of the American Revolution, and showed how various underground organizations caused disturbances which were quelled only by the use of troops. He concluded that the net outcome of the disorders was coercive legislation, closer rapport between government and the hierarchy, conflicts between Protestants and Catholics in the north, and a breakdown of confidence between the clergy and their parishioners in the south. Emmet Larkin, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, dealt with "Church and State in Nineteenth-Century Ireland," as seen in several documents from the Propaganda Archives in Rome. Quoting at length from these sources, Larkin related how certain clergy in Cashel vilified one another in connection with the appointment of a bishop and how the bishop of Elphin, in defending himself against criticism by local Augustinians, at the same time provided a statement of exemplary episcopal administration. Larkin then showed how the reform problem was solved from within by 1830, but that the financial one remained until the famine. R. Dudley Edwards, University College, Dublin, provided the commentary.

More emphasis than usual was laid in the 1961 meeting on Russian, Slavic, and Communist history. In a session planned on "The Conservative Tradition in Old Russia," Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University, Stephen Lukashevich, University of Delaware, and Alfred Levin, Oklahoma State University, were scheduled to speak, respectively, on "Russian Conservative Thought before the Revolution," "Ivan Aksakov: A Study in Reaction," and "The Black Hundreds: The Reactionary Wing." Nicholas V. Riasanovsky was listed for comment.

John S. Curtiss, Duke University, presided over a session on "The Bureaucrat in Russian History." Sidney Monas, Smith College, viewed the career of P. D. Kiselev, who reformed the administration of the state peasants and hoped to free the private serfs, but ran into the furious opposition of the nobility. His effort did, however, lay the foundation for the freeing of serfs in 1861. Sidney Harcave, Harpur College, held that the failure of the bureaucrats under Nicholas II resulted from attempts to apply outmoded policies. Even Witte, Stolypin, and Kokovtsov stressed loyalty to the sovereign and failed to seek real cooperation

with the general public. William L. Blackwell and Sidney Horowitz made comments.

A joint session with the Conference on Slavic and East European Studies discussed "Idealism and Pragmatism in the Balkan Revolutionary Tradition." Charles Jelavich, University of California, Berkeley, analyzed the influence of religion, nationalism, and socialism on Balkan revolutionary activity to 1914. He pointed out that both the Church and the nationalists neglected the interests of the peasantry who formed the bulk of the population. Socialism, on the other hand, was interested in the welfare of the masses, but was rejected by the strongly individualistic peasants. Stephen Fischer-Galati, Wayne State University, showed that the peasantry undertook revolutionary action only under exceptional circumstances and relied on *jacqueries* to defend its rights. In their comments, John C. Campbell and Marin Pundeff pointed out exceptions to the generalizations about revolutionary activity made by the two speakers. Jerome Blum, Princeton University, presided.

Many members attended a session on "Communist Seizures of Power in Russia, Czechoslovakia, and China." In a paper on the Russian case, Robert V. Daniels, University of Vermont, maintained that "Lenin's demand for a Bolshevik seizure of power was realized by accident. . . . Communism as a totalitarian movement based on the one-party seizure of power really came into existence only in the course of feeling its way toward such a seizure of power. In leading the discussion, Donald W. Treadgold placed much more emphasis than Daniels had on Bolshevik preparations for the seizure. Paul E. Zinner, University of California, Davis, said in his paper on Czechoslovakia that in substituting a one-party government for the coalition which they already controlled, the Communists mobilized a superior physical force in the streets, but had no need to employ outright violence. Paul Kecskemeti commented that this destruction of democracy could quite properly be called a *coup d'état*. In a paper that emphasized the importance of ideology and organization in the final military victory of the Communists, H. F. Schurmann, University of California, Berkeley, treated the gradual conquest of power in China; the paper said almost nothing about the influence of either American or Soviet actions on the outcome. Treadgold felt that "the Nationalists might have been saved by military measures, their own and American—as American military measures saved the Greek regime." Geroid T. Robinson, Russian Institute, Columbia University, was chairman.

If the printed program predicted correctly, those interested in Russian history were able also to attend a session on "Japan and Russia in Modern Times—Images and Possibilities." George A. Lensen, Florida State University, Paul F. Langer, University of Southern California, and James W. Morley, Columbia University, were listed to read papers, respectively, on "Japan and Tsarist Russia: The Changing Relationships, 1875–1917"; "Japan and Its Soviet Neighbor during the Interwar Years—Japanese Images and Reactions"; and "Postwar Japanese-Soviet Relations."

Japanese history was also the subject of a session on Pearl Harbor over which John Miller, Jr., Deputy Chief Historian of the Army, presided. In the paper "Who Knew about Pearl Harbor in Japan?" Gordon W. Prange, University of

Maryland, strongly refuted the notion that only a handful of Japanese knew of the plan to attack United States military and naval installations at Pearl Harbor and Hickam Field in Oahu. Although a carefully guarded secret, the plan had been in preparation for months and was known to all senior Japanese naval commanders and their principal staff officers—at least seventy—and to a few senior army officers. Robert J. C. Butow asked what knowledge was imparted to the Emperor, to General Tojo, the War Minister, and to civil officials in the Foreign Office. Walter Millis pointed out that Admiral Yamamoto first mentioned his idea just after the American fleet was moved to Pearl Harbor, but that he did not start his own staff on serious planning until the Japanese-Soviet nonaggression pact in April 1941 made a Pacific war highly probable. Only after Japan's decision for war in early September did Yamamoto get it incorporated, almost by "osmosis," in the over-all Japanese war plan. Millis stated that the civil authorities seem to have known nothing about the planned attack.

A session on "The Biographical Approach to Chinese History," presided over by Howard L. Boorman, Columbia University, considered Chinese biography as an avenue to the study of a larger problem in historiography, that of the interaction between individual and social milieu. David S. Nivison, Stanford University, discussed some traditional aspects of the subject, pointing to the distinction in China between "historical" and "social" biography and presenting observations of the eighteenth-century scholar and historical philosopher, Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng. During the early twentieth century, as China experimented with republicanism, radicalism, and romanticism, modern biographical writing reflected the underlying social flux of gradual emancipation from conventional norms and tentative emphasis upon the individual and individualism. Richard C. Howard, Columbia University, reviewed these trends and summarized views of biography held by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Hu Shih. The third speaker, T. W. Ayers, United States Information Agency, noted the decisive impact of politics upon current biographical writing in Communist China, stressing Peking's new ethical presuppositions which confine the individual within the doctrinal framework set by Marxism-Leninism and articulated by Mao Tse-tung. Commenting on the papers, John A. Garraty compared long-term trends in Chinese and Western biographical writing, noting definite similarities as well as striking differences.

At a session on the history of South Africa, with J. S. Galbraith, University of California, Los Angeles, as chairman, papers were read by Jeffrey Butler, Boston University, and Leonard M. Thompson, University of California, Los Angeles. Thompson examined the origins of apartheid with a view to explaining the exceptional gulf between its theory and its practice. In 1945 C. R. Cronje produced a blueprint for the separation of South Africa into autonomous unracial territories. The leaders of the Nationalist party wrote this idea into the preamble of their 1948 election manifesto, but evidence indicates their purpose was in fact to preserve white supremacy. Butler discussed the antecedents of the South African War, with particular reference to recent works, notably that of J. S. Marais. Butler maintained that Great Britain and the Transvaal went to war because Britain asserted, and the Transvaal resisted, a claim to intervene in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. But the hostility of the two states antedated the

discovery of gold, and the causes of the war were much more complicated than Marais maintains.

The program reflected a marked recent revival of interest in Latin America, but it is not, unfortunately, possible to report in detail what went on in two gatherings in which specialists in that field participated. One of them called for an analysis of some phases of "Negro Slavery in the Americas," with Stanley M. Elkins, Smith College, reading a paper on "Negro Slavery in North America: A Study in Social Isolation" and James F. King, University of California, Berkeley, dealing with "Last Steps in the Absorption of the Negro in the Mainland Spanish America." John Hope Franklin was scheduled to comment. "The Wars of the South American Republics" was the subject of another session, in which Harris G. Warren, Miami University, Donald E. Worcester, University of Florida, and David H. Zook, US Air Force Academy, doubtless read papers, respectively, on "The War of the Triple Alliance," "The War of the Pacific," and "The Chaco War." It is assumed that Robert N. Burr commented on the papers.

As usual, a large number of sessions were devoted to American history. At a joint gathering with the Southern Historical Association on the subject of "American Negro History," Milton Cantor, Williams College, stated that historians concentrate on the legal status of the slave in the colonial period and give little attention to "The Image of the Negro in Colonial Literature." Almost from his appearance in America, the Negro was set apart from other laborers because of his differences from them in language, manner, religion, and pigmentation; the resulting debasement of the Negro affected his legal and social status. Offering findings in church publications, Rufus B. Spain, Baylor University, in "The Southern Baptists and the Negro" declared that Baptists after the Civil War helped to determine and perpetuate southern segregation of Negroes. Reporting on "The American Negro in 1901," Kenneth R. Walker, Arkansas Polytechnic College, noted the progress of the Negro in the preceding thirty-five years, but found him still looked upon as a second-class citizen in political, social, and economic life. Henry Lee Swint compared the ideas expressed in the papers with those of current authors and commented on neglected areas in Negro history. Rembert W. Patrick, University of Florida, was the chairman.

At a joint session with the American Association for State and Local History entitled "Historical Programs of American Outdoor Museums," Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston Athenæum, was chairman. Carlisle H. Humelsine, Colonial Williamsburg, in "Teaching History in the Annex, or the Case for Historic Preservation" emphasized the research and the expense involved in interpreting history to the sixty million Americans who are on the move each year. He indicated that outdoor museums, like universities, require substantial endowments if high standards are to be maintained, pointing out that a greater volume of visitors only means greater costs. Louis C. Jones, New York State Historical Association, in "The Hunter's Cabin and the Ivory Tower" reiterated the necessity for thorough research and urged an extension of cooperation between museums and universities on the pattern now existing between the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and the University of Delaware. Earl S. Pomeroy concluded with

a provocative statement that was in keeping with the lightheartedness and good feeling that characterized the session.

Clifford K. Shipton, American Antiquarian Society, presided over a meeting devoted to "Economic and Political Problems in Colonial Massachusetts." In the first paper, Darrett B. Rutman, University of Minnesota, pointed out that the economic salvation of the colony of Massachusetts Bay was based on a conjunction of agriculture and exports, hitherto regarded as separate factors by historians. Richard C. Simmons, University of California, Berkeley, spoke on "Freemanship in Puritan Massachusetts: A Reconsideration" and argued for a turn toward the stand of James Truslow Adams, attempting to demonstrate his point by a study of freemen and landholdings in Watertown, Massachusetts, where he found evidence for a correlation between social position and the size of landholdings. Lawrence W. Towner, Institute of Early American History and Culture, spoke on "A Fondness for Freedom: Servant Protest in Puritan Society" and pointed out that originally servants, slaves, and apprentices were regarded as parts of the chief social unit of the colony, the family, and that with the decline of the family as an effective unit of society, servant protest in various forms increased. He also pointed out the change in the character of servitude during the colonial period, from the apprentice who could look forward to freedom and marrying his master's daughter, to the colored slave who had less inclination and opportunity to graduate into full social participation. David S. Lovejoy's comment was aimed chiefly at the length of the papers and the historians' neglect of the period between the decline of Puritanism and the rise of the revolutionary movement.

Under the chairmanship of Julian P. Boyd of the Jefferson Papers, watersheds were sought in connection with the American Revolution in papers by Bernhard Knollenberg, Chester, Connecticut, and Shaw Livermore, Princeton University. Knollenberg found one in the American response to the Townshend Acts, indicating that the appearance of John Dickinson's "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania" marked a great turning point in Anglo-American relations. Livermore, considering American views of the Revolution of the 1790's, found Federalists urging that it resulted from efforts to preserve an existing order, Jeffersonians looking upon it as a struggle to create a new and better one. Charles F. Mullett offered several witty comments.

At a session on the American Republic, where Earl Pomeroy, University of Oregon, presided in the absence of Wendell Stephenson of the same institution, Edwin A. Miles, University of Houston, described how leaders of the revolutionary generation invoked examples of civic virtue in republican Rome, revealing their aversion to both imperialism and democracy. In the Jacksonian era, when material progress turned attention from the past to the future and liberally educated gentlemen were less influential in politics and society, the classical tradition and classical education itself seemed less relevant than English and German foundations, except in the South, where defenders of slavery invoked the example of Greece. Arthur E. Bestor, University of Illinois, described how Americans at first avoided the word sovereignty because of its association with monarchy and colonial subjection. Its inclusion in the Articles of Confederation added the further associations of the weaknesses of Congress. In the Constitutional Convention the doctrine of

sovereignty emerged modestly, meaning no more than the equality of indestructible states. In the discussion, Marvin Meyers contended that the founding fathers borrowed from the classics what suited eighteenth-century purposes, and in so doing converted ancient into modern principles. Paul L. Murphy recalled Walter Lippmann's indictment of the fathers of the Constitution as having impeded progress by being blinded by the classics.

At a session on "Quantitative Approaches to American Political History," with Eugene H. Roseboom, Ohio State University, presiding, Charles G. Sellers, Jr., University of California, Berkeley, offered "The Equilibrium Cycle in American Two-Party Politics." Using recent findings of social scientists about contemporary American political behavior, he emphasized the relative stability of party identifications and the narrow range of party oscillations. His cyclical pattern included realignment, ascendancy, and equilibrium phases, with the importance of short-term forces minimized. One commentator, Thomas B. Alexander, questioned the statistical validity of the bar graph accompanying the Sellers paper and also found the cycle pattern misleading, especially in the period 1824-1840 and with regard to southern voting from Reconstruction to 1916. He indicated that it is necessary to know more about individual elections to understand aggregate voting behavior. A second commentator, Richard M. Scammon, pointed to the increasing wealth of data being provided by government bureaus for historians. He discounted the importance of party labels, cited examples of voter shiftings, and noted that realignments come at different times in different places.

In a session on recent writings about the Civil War, over which Bell I. Wiley, Emory University, presided, T. Harry Williams, Louisiana State University, focused on works dealing with the northern side and Frank E. Vandiver, Rice University, mainly on those dealing with the Confederacy. Both speakers commented on the tremendous volume of writings and deplored the poor quality of many of the books. But they denied that the Civil War theme was exhausted. They listed as urgent needs: interpretive works in various fields; studies treating of command, logistics, the navy, the blockade, diplomacy, politics, business, and finance; and histories of states, military units, and campaigns. Vandiver stressed the need of a balanced and comprehensive history of the Confederacy projected in such a way as to "put the experience of the wartime South in some sort of nationalist tradition." Williams predicted that the Civil War would continue to attract writers of exceptional talent. Williams, Vandiver, and Richard B. Harwell offered additional comment, agreeing that the centennial, instead of killing interest in the Civil War, as some had prophesied, would have an opposite effect.

"New Approaches to Recent American Political History" was the theme of a gathering presided over by Richard L. Watson, Duke University. In the first paper, "From Reconstruction to the Armistice, 1918," Samuel P. Hays, University of Pittsburgh, argued that an increasing emphasis in writing political history should be placed on "social patterns and processes." In developing this theme, he discussed the ways in which new studies had approached leadership in political life; a middle level "where regional, state and urban . . . organizational life plays a significant role"; and "the grassroots, where patterns of life and work arise from

a more restricted, local area." After considering these three different levels, Hays concluded that "an over-all approach to political relationships" should focus "not on business and antibusiness forces, but on the systematizing and organizing processes inherent in industrialism." Hays said that this approach would help "to sort out political groups in terms of forces making for change and those resisting change." In the second paper, dealing with the period "From World War I to the Present," David Shannon, University of Wisconsin, agreed that new approaches such as those which would make use of the techniques learned from scholars in the social sciences and humanities had much to offer to the historian. At the same time, he contended that "the greatest weakness . . . in the writing of recent American political history . . . is not an insufficiency of new approach" but "a lack of rigor in the use of old approaches." Shannon urged that the historian not "neglect his traditional hard-headed skepticism about evidence, his traditional insistence upon precise language, and his respect for logic." Horace S. Merrill, in a vigorous critique, agreed and took issue with Hays at several points. He suggested that the new approaches proposed by Hays provided additional evidence for old interpretations rather than for developing new ones.

"The Populist Movement" was examined in two papers, and vigorously re-examined by two critics. Stanley Parsons, Rockford College, in "Nebraska Populism Reconsidered," studied political behavior at the county and precinct level and found that the heart of the opposition to Populism was the business interests of the small town. Many farmers, however, did not join the Populists; German and Bohemian farmers voted Democratic because of their concern over prohibition, and frontier farmers voted Republican. Populism drew its major strength from wheat-growing, Protestant, fairly prosperous counties of central Nebraska. The poorest, most interest-burdened counties remained Republican. In a paper on "The Populist Response to Industrial Society," Norman Pollack, Yale University, held that Populism was a progressive social force. It accepted industrial society, posed solutions not seeking to turn back the clock, and was strongly prolabor. Its critique was humanistic as well as economic, for it sought to assert rational control over technology and distribution to overcome privation and realize human potentialities. He defended Populist fusion with Democrats in 1896 as a consolidation of radical principles. Theodore Saloutos and Martin Ridge criticized both the methods and the conclusions of the two papers. C. Vann Woodward, Yale University, presided at the session.

In a session on "Liberty under the Constitution," Leonard W. Levy, Brandeis University, in his "Liberty and the First Amendment" pursued a thesis that is present by implication in his recent book, *Legacy of Suppression*. His fundamental argument was that a virtual constitutional revolution occurred at the time of the crisis of the Alien and Sedition Acts and that the modern libertarian theory of free speech and the First Amendment emerged from that crisis. In "The Court, the Corporation, and Conkling Revisited" Howard J. Graham, Los Angeles, California, summarized the history of the "Conspiracy Theory" for the last twenty-five years, concluding that the conspiracy thesis now stands utterly discredited, yet, ironically, the consequences were rich in the production of constitutional theory and inquiry. Arnold Paul, University of Oregon, in his "Persons, Property,

and the Fourteenth Amendment," used the statistical technique in an effort to examine some of the political and legal implications of the shift in the meaning of due process in the 1880's and 1890's.

Another session that was concerned with the United States in the latter part of the nineteenth century appears to have been held: "Stratification and Mobility in American Society." Norton Mezvinsky, University of Michigan, and Rowland Berthoff, Princeton University, were listed as reading papers on "The Social Aristocracy of Boston and New York, 1870-1915," and "The Social Order of the Anthracite Region," respectively. David Potter was scheduled to offer criticism, and it is believed that a second commentator, E. Digby Baltzell, a sociologist, thought that Mezvinsky and Berthoff lacked sociological training.

George H. Knoles, Stanford University, was chairman of a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association cautiously labeled "Progressivism and Human Betterment." In "Progressivism and the Moral Revolution" John Burnham, San Francisco State College, told of attempts to curtail venereal diseases by reforming American sex attitudes. Leaders of the social hygiene movement sought to break the conspiracy of silence surrounding discussions of sex and to replace the double standard by a single standard of sexual purity. While Burnham dealt with reform through cultural change, Mark Haller, University of Chicago, in "The Question of Heredity in Progressive Thought," examined reform by improving the blood lines of the American people. By 1900 heredity seemed "a major contributor to mental defects and aberrations." The idea soon spread that heredity was responsible for many social ills including poverty, crime, delinquency, feeble-mindedness, and insanity and that people of defective heredity should be prevented from reproducing. Henry F. May, commenting on the "unconventional, interesting, and fresh papers," observed that an escape from the heredity-environment paradox can be found in the fact that reformers were both environmentalists and hereditarians; both thought "that by organization, agitation, and action" they could reform society.

A joint session with the American Society of Church History, under the chairmanship of Harold J. Grimm, Ohio State University, was devoted to "Twentieth-Century Giving: Theology versus Practice," the title of the paper read by John E. Lankford, University of Wisconsin. An analysis of giving in seven Protestant bodies revealed that the theological concept of giving as a test of faith remained unchanged while the concept of stewardship could be ignored; that giving for missions, the criterion for measuring Christian commitment, did not keep pace with nonbenevolent giving; and that therefore theology did not influence Protestant giving. F. Emerson Andrews agreed with much in the paper, but pointed out that stewardship had been an important element in most giving. Martin E. Carlson questioned the validity of ignoring the concept of stewardship and of measuring theological influence by giving for missions. Both critics expressed their gratitude for Lankford's pioneering research.

Another joint session, with the American Jewish Historical Society, dealt with Jewish influences in the American labor movement. It was planned by the society and by the Labor Historians Group under the chairmanship of Philip Taft, Brown University. The first paper, by Hyman Berman, University of

Minnesota, was a historiographical evaluation of the American Jewish labor movement, in which he evaluated the abundant literature in this field. Discussion of it by Ezekial Lifschutz emphasized the need for unusual talents in a historian of this field: knowledge of the labor movement and its leaders, knowledge of Jewish communal life in this country and in the countries from which the Jews have migrated, knowledge of Jewish communal and individual aspirations, and a good speaking knowledge of the Yiddish language. J. S. B. Hardman, New York City, on the basis of personal experience, talked on "Jewish and Non-Jewish Influences in the Shaping of the Jewish Labor Movement in the USA." Discussion was led by William Haskett.

There was also a session on "The Nineteen Twenties," with Harvey Young, Emory University, presiding. In a paper on "Dissent and the Twenties," Robert Wiebe, Northwestern University, argued that effective criticism of the existing social system "reached a maximum peak around 1912, then diminished to the quiet of 1924." This trend coincided with a campaign by established leaders to regain control over American society, since they came "to regard dissent no longer as an irritant but as a threat to the very foundations of their power." The victory of "the establishment" by 1924 was evident in the quelling of protest from such groups as moderately prosperous businessmen, agriculture, labor, the Democratic party, the clergy, and teachers. "The sense of security which came to the establishment around 1924 divided the twenties and underwrote the confidence of its second half." In a paper read for John D. Hicks, University of California, Berkeley, by Vincent Carosso, New York University, were enumerated "Research Opportunities in the Twenties." He gave examples of the many political biographies that remain to be written and of local or special studies in political, business, agricultural, and intellectual history. He named prohibition and disarmament as specially fertile fields. J. Leonard Bates, commenting, amplified Hicks's list of research possibilities and raised questions about Wiebe's definitions and patterning. Was "the establishment" presented as too much of a "tightly knit power elite"? Was there really "a deliberate, ruthless, long-range campaign" of suppressing dissent? Was 1924 an adequate watershed when applied to a number of aspects of the decade, especially the role of progressive senators?

The New Deal received attention in a gathering presided over by Sidney Fine, University of Michigan. In a paper on the New Deal and the Negro, Allen Kifer, Skidmore College, characterized the New Deal's racial policy as "a patchwork of indifference and discrimination alternating with conscientious paternalism." He said that the decentralized character of many of the recovery programs proved to be an obstacle to the distribution of economic aid to the Negro on an equitable basis. Rayford W. Logan, who commented on the paper, noted President Roosevelt's concern for the Negro and indicated that, although the Negro derived little material benefit from the New Deal, he did gain "a sense of belonging." Irving Bernstein, University of California, Los Angeles, who spoke on labor and the New Deal, contended that because of massive unemployment and the need to "restructure power" in American society, the labor question was "pre-eminent" during the years 1931-1938. He said that the role of John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers in the organization of the unorganized was crucial. Com-

menting on Bernstein's paper, Joseph G. Rayback thought that the contribution of Lewis and the UMW had been overstressed. He called for a comprehensive investigation of all the New Deal's efforts to cope with unemployment and for a thorough study of the labor movement of the 1930's with a view to determining whether organized labor should play the role of a "missionary" or a "service" organization.

About one paper offered in the field of American history, curiosity cannot here be satisfied. Allen G. Bogue, State University of Iowa, is quite reliably reported to have read it, on the subject of "Making Corn Belt Farmers" in a joint session with the Agricultural History Society. Unfortunately, the gist of his remarks is not known. John H. Moore, Stanley Murray, and Neil McNall were scheduled to offer comment.

As usual, there were several luncheons.

The annual meeting and luncheon of the Conference on Slavic and East European History was held on December 28. The attendance—about 175—was the largest in the history of the group. S. Harrison Thomson, University of Colorado, chairman for the year, presented a paper entitled "Some Holes in Our Armor," in which he discussed those areas and fields of East-Central Europe (excluding Russia) in which much basic research still needs to be done. Father Francis Dvornik was elected chairman for the next year.

On December 28 John J. Johnson, Stanford University, presided over the Conference on Latin American History luncheon. In a timely address John C. Dreier, Johns Hopkins University, appraised "The OAS and United States Policy." Dreier characterized the OAS as a "judicial jungle" in which juridical infighting among the member states has been standard. The functions of the multiagency regional council can only be understood in terms of the aspirations of the Latin American states for economic and social progress. During the 1950's the OAS was effective in the settlement of differences between member states. Since the Castro victory, however, the accelerated demands for the rapid achievement of Latin American aspirations coupled with fear of intervention have hampered the previously smooth functioning of the OAS. Only a basic alteration in US policy can effectively restore its capacity for action. Dreier stated that the Alliance for Progress program is sufficiently attuned to the new dynamics in Latin America to make possible a reinvigorated OAS. In closing, he called for a reappraisal of the principle of nonintervention.

There was also a joint luncheon meeting with the Society of American Archivists on December 28, with Robert H. Bahmer, National Archives, as chairman. W. Kaye Lamb, national archivist and national librarian of Canada, spoke on the subject "The Archivist and the Historian." Lamb chided his fellow historians for looking disdainfully at archivists. Too many historians, he said, regard the archivist as "essentially a hack, a hewer of wood and a drawer of water." This overlooks "those aspects of the archivist's job that call for intelligence, knowledge, and judgment to such a degree that the assignment can be a little frightening." Lamb stressed that the archivist's work has a permanency that few historians share and that the sources available to the historian in this

and following generations are dependent to a great degree upon the archivist.

The Phi Alpha Theta luncheon session was also held on December 28. Donald E. Worcester, University of Florida, national President, presided. Fletcher Green, University of North Carolina, delivered a paper entitled "Johnny Reb Could Read." He pointed out, by reference to a multitude of comments made by Confederate soldiers, that a large number of them were avid readers who hungered for books. Various groups provided reading matter for the troops, most of it of a religious nature. After a year or two of this, many of the men yearned for a more varied literary menu. The Confederate soldiers were discerning and determined readers and made critical comments on everything they read.

The modern European History Section met at its annual luncheon December 29. The demand for tickets was such that a larger dining room had to be provided at the last minute. Kent Roberts Greenfield, President for 1961, acted as chairman of the business meeting, and Cyril E. Black, in the absence of Gordon Craig, as secretary. After a brief report from A. William Halperin as editor of the *Journal of Modern History*, the chairman introduced the speaker, Louis Morton, Dartmouth College, who critically reviewed the evidence regarding the intervention of the Soviet Union in the war against Japan in 1945 and suggested lessons in foreign policy that might be drawn from the experience.

Addressing a joint luncheon meeting with the American Studies Association on December 29, former Governor Philip F. La Follette of Wisconsin had as his topic "Politics Is People: High Lights of an Intensive Refresher Course in Politics and Economics." With Holman Hamilton, University of Kentucky, presiding, Governor La Follette stressed a European trip he took in early 1933 when he discussed the depression and related subjects with notable leaders of various nations. Heinrich Brüning, Karl Radek, Sir Josiah Stamp, and Sir Robert Vansittart were among the "instructors" from whom the speaker derived impressions respecting war, peace, and recovery prospects. There were numerous inquiries from the floor, and many members of the audience remained to ask questions after the formal program was over.

The annual luncheon meeting of the Conference on Asian History also took place on December 29. John Hall, Yale University, presided as chairman; the guest speaker was Ivan Morris, Columbia University. The luncheon room was filled to capacity. Morris delivered a paper on the "Re-emergence of the Right in Japanese Politics." He analyzed the sources of support, the strength and weakness of the rightist leadership, and the objectives of the various rightist groups. He stressed the small size of the Right-wing membership, approximately the same as that of the Communist party in Japan. But few rightist organizations, according to Morris, have had positive goals other than elimination by assassination of prominent government figures. While there was some continuity in rightist leadership from the prewar era in Japan, most of the members today are new and young individuals who for various reasons have become disaffected politically. A strong anti-Communist bias runs through all rightist organizations. Some leaders also talk of a return to the imperial system, calling for a new Showa restoration. In the main, Morris did not consider the rightist leadership to have a sufficiently coherent policy to pose a real threat to Japan's internal security.

A luncheon under the auspices of the Association on December 30 was a high light of the meeting. With Samuel Flagg Bemis, its President, in the chair, the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, spoke on major issues of American foreign policy, directing his remarks in large part to questions raised by the President of the Association, Samuel Flagg Bemis, in his address given the previous evening. The Secretary declared that in the contest with Communism there were "solid reasons for confidence—not for despair—in the fiber of our people." They have "the nerve and the will," he asserted, to protect their essential interests against Communist threats. Conceding that the Communists have scored successes in recent years, Rusk contended that they also had encountered failures, and that time was with the West. He pointedly said that the position of the West in Berlin would be defended "at whatever cost." He expressed belief that "a pattern of constructive association" is emerging "among the whole of the northern half of the world from Tokyo to Bonn, and with the new nations to the south." He advised against taking "cheap comfort" from schisms in the Communist bloc. He concluded by expressing faith that "power and majesty" accompany "the nation of political freedom."

On December 28, during the first evening of the meeting, the traditional annual dinner session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held, with Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, presiding. Alfred H. Kelly, Wayne State University, spoke on "An Inside Story of the School Segregation Cases." The Mediaeval Academy of America also had its customary dinner session the first evening of the meeting. Bertie Wilkinson, University of Toronto, served as chairman. Lynn White, jr., University of California, Los Angeles, read a paper on Indian influences upon Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He suggested that there was interesting evidence of these influences, though it was difficult to assess. It came by way of Gypsies on the one hand and heretics on the other. Both these agencies, especially the latter, may have been the medium by which, in particular, Indian religions had some influence on the West. Examples were the Franciscan dress with its symbolic cord, the attitude of prayer, mendicancy, and St. Francis' unprecedented attitude toward the birds and beasts. White discussed the significance of this evidence with scholarly restraint.

At the annual dinner of the Association on December 29, Samuel Flagg Bemis gave his presidential address (see *AHR*, LXVII [Jan. 1962], 291-305). Speaking on "American Foreign Policy and the Blessings of Liberty," he not only summed up a lifetime of research and reflection, but also asked questions about the present and the future direction of American foreign policy. Senator Gale McGee of Wyoming introduced President Bemis. Before the presidential address the Executive Secretary announced the three prize awards for the year. Charles F. Delzell won the George Louis Beer Prize for his book *Mussolini's Enemies: The Italian Anti-Fascist Resistance*; Calvin Davis, the Beveridge Award for his manuscript, "The United States and the First Hague Peace Conference"; and Mark H. Curtis, the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize for his *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*.

Duke University

JOHN R. ALDEN

The Year's Business, 1961

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1961

Only historians over sixty remember the world when it was not in crisis. The adult lives of most historians have been spent during war and revolution. Our world is in constant crisis as "leftists" or "rightists" overthrow governments to establish dictatorships, as big wars are succeeded by little wars or cold wars, as nuclear war threatens to end all civilizations, peoples, and governments. We do not know one moment or another whether we, our civilizations, our ideals, our studies, will continue longer than a moment of fission or fusion. Yet we must go on, go on as if millennia lie ahead of us as they lie behind, for there is no other way to live. And as historians we will go on recording and re-evaluating man's past, his story, as long as there is a story to be told.

Hostile critics sometimes tell us that the study of history is of little value because the break between the past and present is complete, because continuity no longer exists. This is nonsense. "We cannot help living in history. We can only fail to be aware of it." The discovery of nuclear energy, as well as other discoveries, makes the world of the Russian and German Revolutions different from the world of the American and French Revolutions. But the difference, startling as it is, does not wipe out the deeper continuity; it does not mean that present men are suddenly cut off from past men. We think and act with that knowledge, those forms of thought, those philosophical insights our forefathers, and theirs before them, created, found, or evolved. This may be unfortunate. It is, nonetheless, true. History has in large part made us what we are. What we will be, if we will be, will be determined in large part by the historical intelligence we possess. Because national and international crises are continuous and mounting, the need for historical comprehension of the forces that shape our lives is all the greater.

We who are now alive did not make the present world. History, the ideas and activities of all previous men, did. Through the study of their ideas and activities we can try to understand how the present world became what it is. Out of this study we may hope to obtain, as Meinecke said we could, some "content and wisdom" for the use of our fellows. This hope may be vain, its fulfillment beyond our abilities. Success, if any is to be won, can come only if we unrelentingly work, only if we are informed, reflective, and imaginative, and only if we continue to have and are able to enlarge the "Blessings of Liberty." Measured in terms of the goals "content and wisdom," we may, probably will, fall far short. But with the historical culture we possess, we have no choice but to make the effort.

As scholars who seek to know the past not only out of curiosity but also to illuminate the present, we have our peculiar tasks. These we perform, in crisis or in moments of calm, as teachers, researchers, and citizens. Our Association and our *Review* contribute in modest ways to teaching, research, and citizenship.

The Association has over ten thousand members (1953, six thousand). We are beginning to learn more than we did about these members. My statistics come

chiefly from the just published, fine volume, *The Education of Historians in the United States*, which our Committee on Graduate Education (Professor Dexter Perkins, chairman) conceived and Professor John Snell basically prepared. If recent graduate students are representative of the profession, and I think they are, historians in the United States come from all segments of the population. For the most part they come from middle-income groups and from less privileged families as well, not from families that in education, occupation, or income "rank in the highest prestige levels." They are Protestant (63 per cent), Catholic (20 per cent), and Jewish (13 per cent). Ninety per cent of them are male. Most of them teach in colleges and universities, and 65 per cent of these have the Ph.D. degree. If anyone of them, by chance, fits the average, he took seven years (after the B.A.) to obtain this degree and was thirty-one years old when the hood was dropped on his shoulders.

Our chief activity is teaching, teaching each year hundreds of thousands of eager and not-so-eager students. More than three-quarters of the Association's members are teachers; in the colleges and universities of the United States there are about 8,500 teachers of history. Over 13,700 of the graduates (Bachelor's) of 1959 majored in history; in the same year 1,640 students obtained a Master's degree in the field, and at least 324 won the doctorate. For our courses there is great and increasing demand. While no one can accurately predict, it may be that enrollments in our undergraduate classes will double by 1970. This means that many more teachers of history will be needed. The conservative estimate of our own graduate study indicates that, if we are to maintain present standards, the nation's graduate history departments will have to produce about 470 Ph.D.'s a year by the end of the decade, an increase of about 50 per cent over 1960.

To help institutions find teachers and historians find positions, the Association maintains a Job Register, which might more accurately be called a Professional Register. Over 400 historians were constantly registered during the past year, and from December 27 of last year the Register was informed of over 160 openings. Because demand is rising faster than supply, the likelihood is that in the future the Register will be of more value to institutions seeking teachers than it will be to historians seeking positions.

Nearly all the students we teach are high school graduates. We complain often and vigorously that these students are ill prepared when they come to us. We are trying through our Service Center Committee (Professor Joseph Strayer, chairman) to help the perhaps 30,000 history teachers in the high schools. The Service Center pamphlets, which summarize late research and suggest readings in special subjects, now number 42 and will total 47 by next summer. Over 450,000 of these pamphlets have been distributed. During the five years of its existence the Center has also provided guidance through conferences and consultants; in 1961 the Center sponsored 20 meetings at which professional historians discussed history with hundreds of high school teachers. Unfortunately, just as these meetings are becoming effective and well known, they will have to be discontinued because of lack of funds. The grant from the Ford Foundation Fund for the Advancement of Education expires in July 1962. We shall, however, out of funds accumulated from sales, be able to continue publication of the pamphlets on a limited scale for

two additional years beyond July 1962. These will be edited by Walter Rundell, Jr., who became Assistant Executive Secretary last fall, replacing George Carson as director of the Service Center.

Our surveys and samplings reveal that our college and university teachers have had too little training in teaching and that, on the contrary, many of the high school teachers have had far too little training in history, especially in the history of the world beyond America. To the graduate schools that train professional historians, we can only recommend, as we have in *The Education of Historians*, that they pay more attention to the processes of teaching. Our graduate students need few professional education courses. They do need the systematic supervision and counsel of master teachers during their graduate work and during their first years of full-time teaching. Our high school teachers desperately need not more courses in education but more training in the solid content of history, especially world history. In Kansas in 1958 only 151 of 315 teachers assigned to teach world history had any modern European history in college and only 27 any Asian history. Our Committee on the Service Center is now planning a major study of the world history course in the high schools. If funds for this much-needed study are forthcoming, we may be able to improve the now quite inadequate offerings.

Some of us tend to see teaching and research as quite separate activities, to praise or deprecate the former or the latter. To differentiate between them sharply is a mistake. The best college or university teacher is a scholar who has done and is doing research, and the best researcher usually hopes and is able to communicate his findings to others. We hear of good teachers who do not or cannot publish and of able researchers who cannot or will not teach. But no great teacher of history can do without the exact knowledge that comes from research, and no socially responsible researcher fails to teach.

Through the years since 1884 the Association has given much attention to teaching. Its major emphasis, however, has been on research, especially in providing facilities for it and in fostering publication of its results, in the *Review*, in monographs, and in bibliographies.

The year brought several publications and progress on others. Two Beveridge Award books, Clarence C. Clendenen, *The United States and Pancho Villa*, and Nathan Miller, *The Enterprise of a Free People: Aspects of Economic Development in New York State during the Canal Period, 1792-1838*, appeared or will appear soon. The long-awaited *Guide to Historical Literature* came out as the year began; it is now in its third printing. *A Guide to Photocopied Materials* has just appeared. A twenty-year (1935-1955) "Index to the *Review*," prepared with laborious effort, is in page proof. A number of *Guides to German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, Va.*, were published; the eventual thirty-nine of these will lead scholars to over ten million pages of primary source materials which our Committee on War Documents with its expert staff finished screening and photographing in August.

The Writings on American History, 1954 (Volume II of our *Annual Report* for 1956), came out in November. Compiled by the National Historical Publications Commission, whose fine executive director, Philip Hamer, has recently

retired, the annual volumes of the *Writings* are indispensable for research in American history. We have also made arrangements for a volume to cover the years 1904-1905, a "gap" in the *Writings* which were first compiled in 1902, and we still have plans to fill the larger "gap" of the wartime years, 1941-1947. With funds from the Ford Foundation and guidance from Stanley Pargellis and British colleagues, we support several major bibliographies in British history, and two additional volumes, the medieval and the Stuart, are almost ready. The new (1961) triennial *List of Doctoral Dissertations* reached my desk as I was writing this report. The editor, William Fox, found eighteen hundred dissertations in progress or completed since 1958. The eight Service Center pamphlets issued during the year provide high school teachers and graduate students with suggestive bibliographies of recent publications.

We have assisted the Library of Congress in the compilation of the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*. We participated rather fully in the study of microfilming scholarly materials which Lester Born, under the auspices of the Council on Library Resources and the American Council of Learned Societies, recently completed. We have been in constant touch with the officials of the National Archives on many questions involving the historian's use of that institution's collections. With our Littleton-Griswold Committee (Judge Edward Dumbauld, chairman), we have several volumes of colonial legal records under way; we hope that one or two of these will appear next year.

The *Review* continues to be our most important publication. Last year (Volume LXVI [Oct. 1960-July 1961]) the *Review* published 14 articles and 8 "Notes and Suggestions" (13 and 9 respectively the previous year), while it had submitted to it 153 (211 the year before) essays. The number of book reviews, 251 long and 441 short (223 and 334 in the earlier volume), continued to increase. In passing, one may note that for these books we use from 400 to 450 different reviewers each year. A major problem of the *Review* is that of space, space for more articles and reviews. But another problem, common apparently to historical journals these days, is to find a sufficient number of articles of that high professional standard the *Review* upholds.

A few years ago scholarly publication was difficult. Professional historical works still do not sell well; many books do not sell more than 1,500 copies, and small printings are unprofitable. But in recent years, except for certain specialized types of books, publication has been easier. Some university presses are now asking for books—a novel and wonderful development. With articles, the situation is not different. But several editors of established journals have recently told me that they were receiving fewer and fewer essays of quality. The several new journals established these past years may find it difficult, after the first enthusiasm, to fill their pages with the kind of fine articles they hope to obtain.

One result of the new opportunities for publication is the slackening of competition for the Association's prize awards which bring publication. Only three manuscripts were submitted for the Moses Coit Tyler Prize in American Intellectual History, graciously offered to us by the Cornell University Press. Our Committee (Professor Frederick Rudolph, chairman) judged that none were worthy of the distinction of the prize; it will therefore be discontinued. For the

Beveridge Award (Professor Glyndon Van Deusen, chairman) only four authors sent manuscripts. Although one of these was given the award, the number of submissions was so small that we may have to change the terms of the competition. It is to be noted that our committees (this year the George Louis Beer Prize, Leften Stavrianos, chairman, and the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize, Helen Taft Manning, chairman) which make awards for published books have difficulty choosing from among the many excellent ones submitted.

Perhaps we historians stress publication, though not research, too much. Perhaps we overemphasize publication as a way of winning status and of obtaining promotions and increases in salary. Perhaps we try to publish too quickly. We, after all, can only justify publication when the publication results from the discovery of new information and from reflective reinterpretation. But research is basic in our discipline, and we still do not have the opportunities we should. Funds for historical research, compared to those available in the sciences and mathematics, are shockingly small, though we do now obtain valuable assistance. In grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, and the American Philosophical Society, for example, historians fare much better than they did twenty or thirty years ago. According to one of our delegates, David M. Potter, in 1961 the SSRC awarded 14 (out of a total of 46) faculty research fellowships to historians, 16 (of 37) grants-in-aid, and 11 (of 51) research training fellowships. Nevertheless, if we are to make our full contribution, we do not fare as well as we ought in awards and grants for research. Perhaps if we could define the aims and limits of our work more fully and precisely, we would do better. With that purpose as one objective, we have a Committee on Research (Professor Roderic Davison, chairman) at work. It is considering various aspects of the "intellectual action" of historians and may prepare, if funds are available, major analyses of research trends and make proposals for further investigation. But in the competition for funds we will have to make a strong case, for in these days of cold war crises, the physical sciences dominate.

If our world disintegrates in fission or fusion, there will be no need for the sciences, or for that matter, teaching and research in history. If, while it exists, our society becomes authoritarian and totalitarian, there may be demand for research on psychological conditioning but little need or desire for the historical scholarship which through the study of experience sets minds free. For these pressing reasons we must, as historians and as men, concern ourselves more than we have with our communities.

We do rather well in teaching and in research. We do less well as citizens of our nation and especially of our world. That the world has become one is a truism to all but the most blind. All parts of the globe are hours, if not minutes, away from each other. Yet we historians know little of Asian civilizations and still less of African. When the editor of the *Review* casts around for historians of the "Dark Continent" above South Africa, he can find but four or five in the United States.

The nation supports activities in our national history, not as well as it could, but certainly with vigor. The Association does and will foster the study of our national heritage. We do this in many ways, not only through publication. One

of our great men, J. Franklin Jameson, and one of our ablest and most devoted members, Waldo Leland, were founders of the National Archives. We continue through our Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government (Professor Charles Barker, chairman) to work closely with the National Archives, the National Historical Publications Commission, the Library of Congress, the State Department, and other federal agencies that do historical work. The President of the United States, a historian, is now a member of the Association, and the Secretary of State is speaking at our meeting.

For many years, with Waldo Leland, Donald McKay, and now Arthur Whitaker as leaders, our international historical activities committees, whatever their changing titles, have vigorously led us in participation in international historical meetings and in scholarly international cooperation. We belong to the International Committee of Historical Sciences in which Arthur P. Whitaker represents us in the Assembly and Boyd C. Shafer is a member of the Bureau. As a member of the Bureau, the latter attended its meeting in Istanbul in August to assist in the planning for the 1965 Congress in Vienna. Over the years we have given foreign scholars honorary membership; this year our Committee (Professor Lynn Case, chairman) has suggested several of the world's finest historians for this membership. During the last five years we have, with our South Asian Committee (Professor Holden Furber, chairman), attempted to strengthen South Asian studies by bringing 11 scholars in the field to the United States to teach at graduate institutions. With the aid of the Asia Foundation we are sending the *Review* to about 140 historians of "free" Asia. With our President, Samuel Flagg Bemis, taking the initiative, we have recently held conversations with Canadian colleagues in the hope of deepening our scholarly relationships. We plan also, in fullest collaboration with British historians, to do a study of national prejudices in the textbooks of Britain and the United States. In our *Review* we attempt to review all the important foreign historical books we can obtain, and we exchange our *Review* for fifty historical journals published abroad.

We could do more, much more than we are now doing in international activity. We could, for example, give more attention to the world's vast history, without lessening our study of that part of it which is the history of the United States. As scholars seeking historical truth, we could all speak up more vigorously in support of scholarship at international meetings, or wherever scholars gather. In the long run it is not the gladiator in the public forums of world history who counts but the full scholarship of the historians represented.

Above all we must realize more fully than we have that we are responsible citizens of our national and international communities and have a responsibility and a duty to seek historical knowledge and to communicate our findings to our fellows at home and abroad. We must also understand that historical scholars elsewhere have a similar responsibility and duty and that we can learn from them as we may, perhaps with vanity, hope that they may learn from us.

To promote the study of history in the United States as our Charter entitles us, as indeed our Charter orders us, we must, it is now clear, promote the study of history everywhere. Because learning and liberty are inseparable, we must ask for freedom of historical teaching and research everywhere, in Washington, D. C.,

in Texas, in Southern California, in Europe, in Asia, and in Latin America. Because liberty and learning are inseparable, we must stand against any reactionary or radical forces that threaten freedom, and we must try to surmount all racial and ideological barriers that cut us off from knowledge. Historical knowledge is not black, yellow, red, or white; it is not capitalist or Communist. It is knowledge of the past that arises from unfettered, and only unfettered, search for insight and understanding.

Historians now alive, young or old, may never know a world not in crisis. If the wars and revolutions, the crises of our time consume us, let us disintegrate as scholars whose weak limbs trembled as did Hecuba's, but took us forward in pursuit of knowledge. If the crises do not consume us, let it be said that our weak limbs carried us forward to a "new long day," not of Hecuba's slavery, but of conquests of the mind.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary and Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL
OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
THE SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.
DECEMBER 27, 1961, 10:00 A.M.

Present at the meeting were: Samuel Flagg Bemis, President; Carl Bridenbaugh, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Councilors Mildred Campbell, John Caughey, Clement Eaton, John Hope Franklin, W. Stull Holt, Frederic C. Lane, Gaines Post, Gordon Wright; and former Presidents Bernadotte E. Schmitt and Samuel E. Morison.

The minutes of the 1960 meeting of the Council were approved as they had been published in the April 1961 *Review* (pages 894-900).

The report of the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review* had been sent to the Council and was therefore not read. The Executive Secretary asked, however, that minor revisions be noted to reflect changes in the nature of the Association's activities since the report was written in late November. The Association, on December 15, 1961, he stated, had about 10,500 constitutional members and about 9,500 paid members, the difference being largely in the number of members who had not yet paid dues for 1961-1962. He called attention also to the fact that about 15 per cent of the Association's members are students and that as the cost of the *Review* alone is approximately eight dollars per year, the Association makes a sizable contribution to each student member. A proposal to limit the length of student membership was not approved.

The Treasurer of the Association, Elmer Louis Kayser, presented a brief analysis of his report for 1960-1961 which had been sent to members of the Council earlier. He suggested that the present favorable position of the Association arose from the unprecedented increase in membership and the number of members who had prepaid their membership at the increased rate. He noted also that the increased printing costs of the *Review* were not reflected in his report and that during the year the Association had made larger expenditures from foundation grants than it had received in such grants.

The Council briefly discussed housing needs for the office of the Association and was informed of the action of the Executive Committee in acquiring property and of the appeal to the Zoning Adjustment Board of the District of Columbia.

The proposed budgets for 1961-1962 and for 1962-1963 were approved by the Council with the addition of two minor amendments. The budgets included increases in staff salaries, increased appropriations for the costs of printing the *Review*, and a continuation of an annuity for the former assistant Secretary-Treasurer who retired in 1956.

The President of the Association was requested to appoint a committee of three to formulate and present at the next meeting of the Council a statement of the policy of the Association concerning the retirement age of staff members. The President appointed to this Committee, Professors Post, Lane, and Caughey, with the last serving as chairman.

The Council unanimously re-elected the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review* for the constitutional term of three years.

For action at the Business Meeting the Council nominated Mr. Percy Ebbott for re-election to the Board of Trustees.

Charles Mullett of the University of Missouri was confirmed as the new appointee to the Board of Editors to replace Professor Mildred Campbell whose term expires this year.

For the Committee on Committees, the Executive Secretary submitted nominations to the Council for additions and changes on the various Association committees. The committees for 1962 as approved by the Council are listed below: *Committee on Ancient History (ad hoc).***—Chester Starr, University of Illinois, chairman; Paul Alexander, University of Michigan; T. R. S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College.

Committee on Committees.—Joe Frantz, University of Texas; Louis Morton, Dartmouth College; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College;* Carl Schorske, University of California (Berkeley); Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.—Arthur Link, Princeton University, chairman; David Donald, Princeton University; Kenneth Stamp, University of California (Berkeley).*

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Charles Barker, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Samuel Flagg Bemis, Yale University; Arthur Bestor, University of Illinois;* Wood Gray, George Washington University; Thomas LeDuc, Oberlin College; Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University; Maurice Matloff, Washington, D. C.; Jeannette Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Washington, D. C.;* Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Honorary Members.—John Wolf, University of Minnesota, chairman; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Charles Griffin, Vassar College; Oscar Handlin, Harvard University; Charles Morley, Ohio State University;

* New member this year.

** New committee this year.

George Mosse, University of Wisconsin;* Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Arthur Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Waldo Leland, Washington, D. C.; John Curtiss, Duke University; Martin McGuire, Catholic University of America; John Rath, University of Texas;* Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Eugen Weber, University of California (Los Angeles);* Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Edward Dumbauld, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Julius Goebel, Columbia University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard University; Alfred Kelly, Wayne State University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Joseph H. Smith, New York City; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

*Committee on Maritime History (ad hoc).***—Frederic C. Lane, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Waldo Leland, Washington, D. C.; Vernon Tate, United States Naval Academy; Walter M. Whitehill, Boston Athenæum.

Committee on the Professional Register.—Dean Albertson, Brooklyn College;* Harold Davis, American University; Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University; Rayford Logan, Howard University;* Walter Rundell, Jr., American Historical Association;* Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Research Needs.—Roderic Davison, George Washington University, chairman; Bernard Bailyn, Harvard University; Robert Byrnes, Indiana University; David Donald, Princeton University; Hunter Dupree, University of California (Berkeley); Dewey Grantham, Vanderbilt University; Hans Gatzke, Johns Hopkins University; Charles Gibson, State University of Iowa; Earl Pritchard, University of Chicago; Chester Starr, University of Illinois; Speros Vryonis, Jr., University of California (Los Angeles); Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on South Asian History.—Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Robert I. Crane, Duke University; Earl Pritchard, University of Chicago; David Owen, Harvard University; Burton Stein, University of Minnesota; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Teaching (Service Center for Teachers of History).—Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, chairman; Natt B. Burbank, Boulder, Colorado; William Cartwright, New York City; Margareta Faissler, Baltimore, Maryland; Gilbert Fite, University of Oklahoma; Stanley Idzerda, Michigan State University; Agnes Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Hazel Wolf, Peoria, Illinois; Walker Wyman, Wisconsin State College (River Falls); Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Richard Brace, Northwestern

* New member this year.

** New committee this year.

University, chairman; Theodore Hamerow, University of Wisconsin; William O. Shanahan, University of Oregon.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Henry Cord Meyer, Pomona College, chairman; Victor Mamatey, Florida State University;* John Snell, Tulane University.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—Charles Gibson, State University of Iowa, chairman; Hugh Aitken, University of California (Riverside);* John Higham, University of Michigan;* David Shannon, University of Wisconsin;* James Smith, College of William and Mary.*

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Edmund Morgan, Yale University, chairman; Don Fehrenbacher, Stanford University; Thomas Cochran, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Robert J. Walcott, College of Wooster, chairman; Jack Hexter, Washington University (St. Louis);* Wallace MacCaffrey, Haverford College;* R. K. Webb, Columbia University;* David Willson, University of Minnesota.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Robert I. Crane, Duke University, chairman; Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania; Stephan Hay, University of Chicago.

Three committees appointed jointly by other historical associations and the American Historical Association are:

*Canadian-United States Committee for Cooperation.***—W. K. Ferguson, University of Western Ontario; T. M. Hunter, Ottawa, Canada; C. P. Stacey, University of Toronto; Samuel Flagg Bemis, Yale University; Robin Winks, Yale University; John Galbraith, University of California (Los Angeles).

*The Historical Association (Britain) and American Historical Association Committee on National Bias in Textbooks.***—E. H. Dance, G. R. Potter, Reginald F. Treharne (British members), and Ray Billington, Richard McCormick, Caroline Robbins (American members).

*Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association Committee on Censorship in Textbooks.***—Vernon Carstensen, University of Wisconsin, chairman; W. D. Aeschbacher, Mississippi Valley Historical Association; John Caughey, University of California (Los Angeles); John E. Dickey, Chicago, Illinois; John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College; Joe Frantz, University of Texas; Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University; R. W. Patrick, University of Florida; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association.

The following delegates or representatives of the Association were elected or their terms reconfirmed: *Assembly, International Committee of Historical Sciences*, Professor Arthur Whitaker (for the term 1960–1965); *Social Science Research Council*, Professor Thomas Cochran (for a three-year term); *National Historical Publications Commission*, Boyd C. Shafer (for a four-year term); *Social Education*, Walter Rundell, Jr., to replace George Carson, who had asked to be relieved.

* New member this year.

** New committee this year.

Plans for future meetings of the Association were discussed at length. Professor Bernard A. Weisberger of the University of Chicago was named the Program Chairman and Professor Martin J. Lowery of DePaul University, the Local Arrangements Chairman for the 1962 meeting to be held in Chicago, December 28-30, at the Conrad Hilton Hotel. There was discussion of the possibility of changing the dates of meeting to sometime late in the summer, but the Council decided to follow the custom of having the meeting December 28-30.

The 1963 meeting will be held in Philadelphia at the Sheraton Hotel, that of 1964 in Washington, D. C., and that of 1965 in San Francisco.

The Council adopted a motion to consider seriously the possibility of meeting in places other than the present usual cities of meeting, Washington, Chicago, and New York. The Council also expressed its hope that the Association might meet at some later date (as in 1966) in Toronto as part of a program of closer cooperation between historians of the United States and Canada.

The Council further discussed whether the Association should continue its annual dinner; the question was referred to the Program Committee for 1962 and for final action to the Executive Committee of the Council.

Professor Bemis gave a brief account of his efforts to provide for closer collaboration between the Canadian Historical Association and the American Historical Association. He referred to preliminary discussions between members of the two associations and to a proposal prepared by the Canadian Historical Association for a joint committee to explore various possibilities. The Council elected three members to a joint committee: Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis, Professor John Galbraith, and Professor Robin Winks. The Canadian members of the Committee, already appointed by the Canadian Historical Association, are Professor W. K. Ferguson, Lieutenant Colonel T. M. Hunter, and Professor C. P. Stacey. The Council expressed its wish that the next Program Chairman consider a joint session of the Canadian and American associations in consultation with the joint committee.

Professor Joseph Strayer, chairman of the Service Center Committee, appeared before the Council to explain the needs of the Service Center and its proposal for a major study of the "world history" courses in the high schools of the nation. He stated that it is "tremendously important" to keep the Service Center in operation even if only on a limited basis. He pointed out that the Service Center pamphlets are in part self-supporting and their publication on a limited basis could be sustained for another two years, with the Association accepting partial responsibility for administrative costs. The sums available for conferences (which have been very popular with teachers and are still in great demand), however, will be exhausted this year, and he expressed the hope of the committee for a small allocation for this purpose from the Association. The Council allotted two thousand dollars from Association funds for the continuation of the conferences during 1962-1963. The Council further approved the proposal of the committee for a major study of world history courses being taught in secondary schools and authorized the Executive Secretary to prepare a request to a foundation. The Council expressed its appreciation to Professor Strayer and his committee for the many hours of skillful and devoted work given to the Service Center.

The Executive Secretary outlined a study being inaugurated jointly by the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. He stated that a committee for the study of censorship in school and college textbooks has now been appointed and that funds have been provided by the Lilly Endowment, Inc., of Indianapolis. The Council noted with satisfaction that progress has been made.

The Executive Secretary briefly commented on the study of British and American textbooks which is being planned by the Historical Association (England) and the American Historical Association. The Council again noted with pleasure the progress being made and expressed its hope for a successful conclusion.

After an outline of the needs in the field of ancient history presented by the Executive Secretary, the Council established a specific *ad hoc* committee, consisting of Professors Chester Starr, T. R. S. Broughton, and Paul Alexander, for a study. This committee will report its findings to the Council.

The Council approved, in principle, a preliminary report of the Committee on Research Needs. The Executive Secretary was authorized by the Council to prepare a budget for presentation to a foundation.

The Macmillan Book Company's proposal for an "Encyclopedia of American History" was debated, but the Council, believing that plans could not be made concrete at this time, voted to table the proposal.

The Council authorized the Executive Secretary to submit a request to the Rockefeller Foundation for the Association's South Asian Committee for a three-year renewal of the grant under which the Association sponsors the teaching of South Asian history in various universities in the United States.

Professor Franklin presented problems encountered by the Committee on Television. The committee, he indicated, might have two possible functions: possible association of the committee with the Service Center to provide information about TV courses through the Center and development of a code that would affect the television industry in relationship with the teaching profession in general and that would prevent exploitation of the teachers by the industry. Having carefully looked into both questions, the committee recommended that the Association should not become further involved and therefore asked the Council that it be discharged. After discussion, the Council agreed to discharge the committee with expression of gratitude for its services.

Professor Max Savelle of the University of Washington, representing the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, read significant parts of the report of the Branch for 1961. He noted that at the Branch's annual meeting this past summer 350 historians had registered and 75 students and townspeople had attended. He announced that the next meeting of the Branch will be held at Loyola University in Los Angeles, August 28-30. He expressed for the Branch his pleasure with the Council's decision to meet in San Francisco in 1965. The Council accepted the report.

The Council accepted the proposals of the Committee on Committees for membership on all committees with the exception of the Committee on Documentary Reproduction and of the Committee on Committees. It was moved that

the Committee on Documentary Reproduction be discharged with expression of gratitude for long service. The Council will consider the appointment of a new committee responsible for needs in all kinds of scholarly historical research materials.

The Council found a suggestion of the chairman of the Committee on International Historical Activities to collect information on all international historical meetings worthy of acceptance, and the Executive Secretary stated that the Association officers will do so in so far as possible. The Council also recommended to the committee that plans be made to have scholars from the United States prepared to participate more fully in the Vienna Congress in 1965 than they had in previous congresses in Rome and Stockholm.

The Council stated its hope that the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government continue to ask the State Department for continuation of the publication of the Hunter-Miller Treaty series. The Executive Secretary was asked to continue negotiations with the various agencies to urge both continuation of the treaty series and the more rapid publication of the *Foreign Relations* series.

The Council voted to increase the Beveridge Award to fifteen hundred dollars, with the provision that the Association publish only one book each year in the series.

The Council approved the proposal of the Committee on the Job Register to change the name of the activity which it supervises to the Professional Register.

The Council elected the following to honorary membership in the Association: Mario Toscano (Italy), Sei Wada (Japan), and Édouard Perroy (France).

The discontinuation of the Moses Coit Tyler Prize offered by the Cornell University Press was noted; too few manuscripts had been presented for the prize.

The Council requested that the bequest of the late Frank Maloy Anderson be recorded at the Business Meeting, and it recommended that the Finance Committee be authorized to care for its management.

The Council voted to decline the offer of Mr. Jossey-Bass of Prentice-Hall to contract for various publications of the Association, including selections of the papers at the Annual Meeting.

Action concerning a newsletter for the Association was postponed pending solution of the space problem at AHA headquarters. The Executive Secretary was asked to prepare specific recommendations for consideration in 1962.

The Council endorsed the statement of the American Association of University Professors of 1940 on academic freedom.

For the 1962 Executive Committee, the following members were elected: Frederic C. Lane, chairman; Samuel Flagg Bemis, Carl Bridenbaugh, Elmer Louis Kayser, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, and Boyd C. Shafer. The new Finance Committee will consist of Professor Lane, Dean Kayser, and Dr. Shafer.

On a proposal of the Archivist of the United States, Wayne Grover, the Council appointed a committee to consider the *Territorial Papers of the United States* and their continued editing and publication.

The Council gave serious attention to a proposal of Eric H. Boehm, the editor of *Historical Abstracts*, for financial assistance from the Association. Believ-

ing that *Historical Abstracts* was of world-wide interest, the Council thought that this publication might best receive assistance from a world organization and took no action.

Professors Gordon Wright and John Caughey, the new members of the Council, were appointed to be the Committee on Resolutions, and Professor Wright was asked to prepare resolutions for presentation at the Business Meeting.

A proposal to have the Association reproduce and distribute papers delivered at the Annual Meeting was considered by the Council, but it voted to table this proposal.

Professor Lane presented a short account of the work being done by the Commission on Maritime History. The Council asked Professor Lane to assemble a small informal committee of not more than four to collaborate with the commission.

The Council approved the proposal presented by Professor Post that the AHA strongly urge groups awarding fellowships and grants, such as the Social Science Research Council, American Council of Learned Societies, Guggenheim, and Fulbright, to move up the date of applications and the date of announcements of awards so that history departments might have time to find adequate replacements for staff members going on leave.

The Council stated its hope that the National Science Foundation will support research in the traditional fields of history as well as in the "history and philosophy of science."

The Council expressed its sincere appreciation and thanks to Professors Campbell and Holt for having served the Association and the profession so well as members of the Council.

The Council gave the Executive Secretary a rising vote of thanks as it expressed its good wishes for the next term.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
THE SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.
DECEMBER 29, 1961, 4:30 P.M.

President Samuel Flagg Bemis called the meeting to order with about 130 members present (about 100 additional members came later). The minutes of the last meeting (printed and circulated in the April 1961 *Review*, pages 901-902) were accepted.

The Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review*, Boyd C. Shafer, read his annual report (see pages 875-81).

Dean Elmer Louis Kayser presented the Treasurer's report for 1960-1961. He stated that on August 31, 1961, the Association had cash on hand for general purposes amounting to \$102,218.18, an improvement of \$23,258.51 over the preceding year. Funds, unrestricted as to use of income, in the custody of the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York under the direction of the Board of Trustees,

amounted to \$242,912.34. The total assets available for general purposes totaled \$391,315.08. The Treasurer indicated that funds, restricted and unrestricted, composing the total assets of the Association amounted to \$830,317.08 if the *book value* of the permanent investments was used, and if *market values*, according to the August 31, 1961, appraisal, were used, the total assets of the Association amounted to \$1,135,825.17. As he had done for the Council, Dean Kayser pointed out that the Association's present favorable position arose from the unprecedented increase in membership and the number of members who prepaid their membership at the increased rate. He added that the increased costs of printing for the *Review* were not reflected in the present report. The report, which was distributed at the meeting and may be examined at the Association's headquarters, was unanimously adopted.

Upon Council nomination, Mr. Percy Ebbot of Chase National Bank was re-elected to the Board of Trustees by a unanimous vote.

Professor Stow Persons of the State University of Iowa, member of the Nominating Committee for 1961 and acting chairman of the committee, presented the report of the committee. For the officers of the Association the following were nominated for 1962: President, Carl Bridenbaugh, University of California (Berkeley); Vice-President, Crane Brinton, Harvard University; Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University. One ballot was cast for these nominees, and they were unanimously elected. Professor Persons reported that as the result of the mail ballot for members of the Council, Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, and Walter Johnson, University of Chicago, were elected, and that Franklin D. Scott, Northwestern University, and Edmund S. Morgan, Yale University, were elected to the Nominating Committee. The report was accepted.

The Executive Secretary reported on actions taken by the Council at its meeting on December 27 (see pages 881-88). He announced the times and places of meetings through 1965, the new appointments to various Association committees, the selection of delegates to various scholarly groups, the selection of Charles Mullett as the new member of the Board of Editors, replacing Mildred Campbell, whose term had expired, and other Council decisions. President Bemis, adding to these announcements, stated that Boyd C. Shafer had been re-elected to the new term as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor with the Council's rising vote of thanks.

Professor Max Savelle of the University of Washington presented the greetings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association and then read parts of the annual report of the Branch. (See *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1961, Volume I, *Proceedings*.)

For the Committee on Resolutions, Professor John Caughey presented the following resolutions:

Be it *resolved* that the American Historical Association express its thanks and its congratulations to Professor John R. Alden and his Program Committee for 1961. The committee has provided the Association with a varied, provocative, and scholarly series of papers whose quality has given each of us new pride in his

craft. We also compliment the committee for its tolerance of clandestine scholarly sessions alongside those on the printed agenda.

Be it *resolved* that the Association express its sincere gratitude to the Local Arrangements Committee headed by Professor David J. Brandenburg. In a task traditional but improperly described as thankless—a task made doubly difficult by the fact that historians now overflow the confines of any single hotel—the committee has succeeded admirably in providing the Association with efficient services, digestible banquets, and comfortable quarters.

These resolutions were approved with applause.

Professor Savelle expressed his concern over the censorship (especially in Texas) of school textbooks. The Executive Secretary mentioned that a joint committee of the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association had been appointed, that action had been started on a study, and that it is hoped that one result might be a statement of principles that could be brought to the attention of authors, publishers, and the public.

Dr. Waldo Leland presented Dr. Guy Stanton Ford's greetings to the Association and transmitted his regret that he was unable to be at the meeting in person. President Bemis sent the affectionate salutations of the Association to Dr. Ford.

Professor Lawrence H. Gipson, who is one of the oldest members of the Association, moved adjournment as for many years had Professor Frank Maloy Anderson, the oldest member of the Association before his death in 1961. The meeting was adjourned at 5:50 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

EDITORIAL

The Historian and the Schools

Elementary and secondary school students form the largest group that historians can hope to influence. All these students take American history—usually two or three times. Most of them take one or two other courses in world history or European history. Here is our greatest opportunity to interest people in history and to show them its value. For the last generation or more, professional historians have ignored this opportunity. They have had little interest in and little influence on school history programs.

There have been various reasons for this estrangement, most of them based on mutual suspicions and misunderstandings. Teachers have felt that professional historians were not interested in their problems; professional historians have felt that the problems raised by the schools were mainly those of teaching methods, hence not worthy of their interest. These difficulties are now being overcome. Many schools are seeking advice on problems, primarily problems of content. Some professional historians have discovered that good work is being done in the schools and that they can find something solid on which to build.

While good work is being done in the schools, it could be better, and professional historians have an obligation to make it better. Their own teaching would be helped if all students had a good high school history course. Through the schools they could also influence the many students who either do not go to college or take no history in college. And most important, by helping to make grade school and high school history courses interesting and stimulating, they could create a desire to keep on reading history after formal education is over.

Let me therefore urge my colleagues to do two things. First, find out what history is being taught in the schools of your own community. Encourage what seems good; make suggestions about remedying what is bad. This sort of pressure, in hundreds of school systems over the country, could have a powerful cumulative effect. In the second place, when you are asked to do something to help history in the schools, do not put it off on the excuse that you have something more important to do. Advising on a new curriculum, addressing a teachers' conference, preparing a pamphlet summing up the latest research in your field can be hard work, but in doing this you are strengthening the foundations on which the whole profession rests.

J. R. STRAYER

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

In 1962 the American Historical Association will meet at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, December 28-30. Bernard A. Weisberger of the University of Chicago is Chairman of the Program Committee, and Martin J. Lowery of DePaul University is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, consisting of two volumes, the *Proceedings* and *Writings on American History*, is available to all members. Those wishing to receive these volumes on a regular basis should write the Association (400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.) and request that their names be added to the list.

The 1961 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress or Completed at Colleges and Universities in the United States*, covering the years from 1958 to June 1961, may be obtained from the Association for \$1.50.

The Association has recently published the booklet, *History as a Career: To Undergraduates Choosing a Profession*, one result of the study for *The Education of Historians in the United States* by Dexter Perkins and John Snell. Booklets are available on request from the Association. If twenty-five copies or more are desired, reprinting costs of six cents a copy are asked.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The papers of Lester H. Woolsey, who held a number of positions in the Department of State from 1913 to 1920, including that of solicitor for the last three years of the period, have been given to the Library of Congress by his daughters, Mrs. William N. Findley and Mrs. Wesley L. Nyborg. Of particular interest is the subject file that constitutes a large part of this body of 25,000 papers, especially the portion maintained by Mr. Woolsey while he was in the Department of State and later when he was law partner (1920-1928) to Robert Lansing. The Woolsey papers also include a considerable amount of correspondence, including a long series of Woolsey-Lansing exchanges; a few Lansing family papers; and a number of letters addressed to John W. Foster, Lansing's father-in-law, between 1878 and 1912.

Warren R. Forster has presented the Library approximately fifteen hundred papers of his father, Rudolph Forster, who served initially as chief clerk and later as executive clerk in charge of the White House executive offices. His career as trusted confidant of Presidents began in 1897 and continued until his death in 1943. The papers consist chiefly of letters Mr. Forster received during this forty-six-year period, but they also include drafts of speeches and public statements of Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson, and valuable materials relating to Calvin Coolidge, Warren G. Harding, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Microfilm copies of some of the papers of Nikola Tesla (1856-1943), famous scientist-inventor, have been received by the Library. Soon after Tesla's death, his papers were removed to his birthplace in Yugoslavia and until recently have been inaccessible to American scholars. Approximately 2,500 microfilm frames have been received, which include correspondence with George Westinghouse, J. Pierpont Morgan, George Scherff, Robert Underwood Johnson, and Mark Twain.

Among recent accessions of the National Archives are the central correspondence files of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1937-1953, consisting of the top level policy, administrative, and operational records of the Department; the journals of the House of Delegates of Puerto Rico, 1904-1906, which had been in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress; about 42,000 plats of mineral surveys made by or under the direction of the surveyors general between 1872 and 1908; and about 2,000 photographs collected by Major General Adolphus W. Greeley, Chief Signal Officer from 1887 to 1906, illustrating his military and civilian activities, 1865-1935.

Microfilm publications recently completed by the National Archives include records of the Department of State, 1910-1929, relating to the following: Internal Affairs of Venezuela (32 rolls); Political Relations between the United States and Venezuela (1 roll) and Turkey (8 rolls); and Political Relations between Venezuela and Other States (2 rolls) and between Turkey and Other States (29 rolls). Also completed is the Index to Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Philadelphia, 1800-1906 (151 rolls).

National Archives Accessions, Number 56, dated November 1961, contains not only descriptions of the records transferred to the National Archives during the year ending June 30, 1960, but a detailed article (23 pp.) by H. Stephen Helton entitled "Recordkeeping in the Department of State, 1789-1956."

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has received from Nelson C. Brown, former professor at the New York State College of Forestry at Syracuse University, correspondence and other papers related to his long association with President Roosevelt in forestry practices on the Hyde Park estate. From 1930 until Roosevelt's death, Brown was his principal adviser on new plantings, lumbering, and silvicultural methods in general. The library also received the records of certain advisory committees appointed by the President, including those of the President's Advisory Committee on Education, 1936-1939; the President's Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, 1935-1941; the President's Committee on Civil Service Improvement, 1939-1941; and the President's Inquiry on Cooperative Enterprise in Europe, 1936-1937. Certain records of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, 1940-1941, were also received.

The Harry S. Truman Library recently acquired the papers of Dillon S. Myer who served in various positions in the government for about twenty years, of Joseph M. Jones, former State Department official and author of *The Fifteen Weeks*, and of N. T. Veatch, Kansas City engineer associated with Truman in a county road building program when the former President was presiding judge of the Jackson County Court.

The late General Walter Bedell Smith bequeathed his papers to the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library.

Marquette University Memorial Library has received the first deposits of the Joseph R. McCarthy papers and the records and papers of the Catholic Association for International Peace. Both deposits are available in accord with standard archival practices and within the latitude of the law.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The first Asian History Congress was held in New Delhi, December 9-13, 1961, under the sponsorship of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, in conjunction with the India International Centre and the Indian History Congress. Its broad purpose was "to encourage research and study of the history of the people of Asia as a whole." Approximately one hundred delegates from Asia and the Middle East, the United States, and Europe attended. Most of the proceedings of the Congress were devoted to sectional meetings where papers on the movement of peoples and ideas; the changing relations between the peoples of Asia; and social, economic, and political organization in different countries and regions of Asia were read, or summarized, and discussed. Although no time and place were announced for the next Asian History Congress, the delegates agreed that the first Congress had stimulated them to renewed efforts to improve the standards of research and writing in the field of Asian history and that it should and would be followed by periodic meetings of a similar nature.

The seventh plenary Anglo-American Conference of Historians will be held at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, July 9-14, 1962. Historians in the United States who plan to attend should write to the secretary of the Institute of Historical Research and notify the American Historical Association in order that necessary arrangements can be made.

The second congress of the International Economic Association will be held in Vienna, August 30-September 6, 1962. The Österreichisches Verkehrsbüro (Wien 1, Friedrichstrasse 7, Austria) is responsible for the registration of participants, for the collection of the conference fee, and for travel arrangements and hotel reservations.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The Society of American Archivists received a grant of \$42,000 from the Council on Library Resources for a study of state archival agencies and programs. Ernst Posner, professor emeritus of history at American University, will conduct the study.

Among thirty-five scholars awarded grants for research in the humanities and related social sciences by the American Council of Learned Societies are the following historians: George M. Addy, Giles Constable, Karl H. Dannenfeldt, Haskell

M. Monroe, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, Carlton C. Qualey, and Eugen J. Weber.

Grants-in-aid for research awarded by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute have been made to J. Malcolm Smith and John W. Ramsay.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

The 1961-1962 officers of the Southern Historical Association are: Rembert Patrick, University of Florida, President; James Silver, University of Mississippi, Vice-President; Bennett H. Wall, University of Kentucky, Secretary-Treasurer. The next meeting of the Association will be held in Miami Beach, Florida.

The Upper Midwest History Conference held its autumn meeting at the University of Minnesota on October 20, 1961. Catherine Boyd of Carleton College was elected Chairman of the group and Howard Lutz of Wisconsin State College, Eau Claire, Secretary.

The Society for Italian Historical Studies held its sixth annual meeting on December 30, 1961, at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C. Frederic C. Lane of Johns Hopkins University was elected President, and Howard R. Marraro of Columbia University was re-elected Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the Society. Carroll Quigley of Georgetown University received this year's essay award for "The Napoleonic Occupation of Rome (2 February 1808 to 10 June 1809)."

Vernon McKay, professor of African Studies at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, was elected President of the African Studies Association.

The Asia Foundation, a nonprofit, nonpolitical organization founded by private American citizens, supports individuals and groups in Asia who are working for "the maintenance of peace and independence, and for greater personal liberty and social progress." In the past seven years the Foundation's project, Books for Asian Students, has sent over 2,500,000 books and journals to more than 5,000 universities, colleges, schools, libraries, and other organizations in Asia. Contributions of books and journals in every category on the university and college level are needed. These should include books published in 1948 or after, works by standard authors (regardless of date), and five-year or longer series of scholarly, scientific, and technical journals. For further information concerning this project, write to Books for Asian Students, 21 Drumm Street, San Francisco 11, California.

The Leo Baeck Institute, a research center for the political, cultural, social, and economic history of Jews in German-speaking countries, desires to promote research and publication. Interested scholars and students should get in touch with the Institute, 129 East 73rd Street, New York 21, New York.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES*

American Jewish Archives: Stanley F. Chyet appointed assistant to the director. *Appalachian State Teachers College*: Eugene Drozdowski, Howard J. Ryan, and Ellis Boatman appointed to the staff. *Brown University*: Carl Bridenbaugh appointed professor. *University of California* (Berkeley): Jesse D. Clarkson appointed visiting professor for the spring semester. *Catholic University of America*: Manoel Cardozo named head of the department; Sister Marie Carolyn promoted to professor. *Davidson College*: Robert W. Rieke appointed to the staff, Andrei Lobanov-Rostovsky, visiting professor for 1961-62; Paul A. Marrotte on leave. *Duke University*: Warren Lerner appointed assistant professor. *East Carolina College*: John C. Atkeson, George Baker, Wilmon H. Droze, Henry C. Ferrell, William R. Thompson, and Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., appointed to the staff. *Eleutherian Mills Historical Library*: Richmond D. Williams appointed director, succeeding Charles W. David, who is retiring. *Lafayette College*: Albert W. Gendebien promoted to professor. *Meredith College*: Richard D. Goff and Vernon O. Stumpf appointed instructor. *Mills College*: Harold H. Fisher named John Hay Whitney Visiting Professor of History and Government for 1961-62. *University of Minnesota*: Theofanis G. Stavrou promoted to assistant professor. *National Historical Publications Commission*: Oliver Wendell Holmes appointed executive director, succeeding Philip M. Hamer, who has retired.

Paterson State College: Joseph Brandes promoted to associate professor. *University of South Carolina*: George Curry on leave. *University of South Dakota*: Cedric Cummins named chairman of the department; Thomas H. Buckley promoted to assistant professor; Walter Moeller appointed instructor. *University of Toledo*: Frederick L. Hetter and Bogdan C. Novak appointed assistant professor. *University of Utah*: Herbert Heaton appointed visiting professor for the winter quarter; Helmut Callis on leave for 1961-62. *University of Wichita*: Marie Graham retired. *State Historical Society of Wisconsin*: Richard A. Erney named head of the division of archives and manuscripts, Alice E. Smith, director of the research office.

RECENT DEATHS

August Charles Krey, professor emeritus of the department of history, University of Minnesota, died on July 28, 1961. He received the B.A. degree in 1907, the M.A. in 1908, and the Ph.D. in 1914, all from the University of Wisconsin. In 1913, he went to the University of Minnesota where he was assistant professor, associate professor, and professor, becoming chairman of the department in 1944.

At Wisconsin, Krey was influenced especially by Frederick Jackson Turner, Dana Carleton Munro, and George Clarke Sellery. It was Munro who directed

* The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and extended leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session or completed temporary appointments, leaves of absence of less than a year, or honorary degrees and citations.

his early studies in the crusades, leading to Krey's abiding interest and distinguished contributions in this field of history. Notable was his work on William of Tyre which involved a long and critical examination of the work of this important figure of the crusading era. The recognition of Krey's work in the field of the crusades is evidenced by his inclusion among the four scholars to whom the extensive *History of the Crusades* now being published by the University of Pennsylvania Press is dedicated. It was Sellery who stimulated the interest in the Renaissance which in his later years perhaps outweighed Krey's concern with the Middle Ages. His study on Florence, *The City That Art Built*, representing this later period of interest, has been republished a number of times.

Representative of the range and quality of Krey's thought is the volume of collected essays, *History and the Social Web*. Especially noteworthy, also, was Krey's interest in the teaching of history. From 1925 to 1929, he was chairman of the Committee of the American Historical Association on History in the Schools, and from 1929 to 1934, chairman of the Commission on Social Studies in the Schools. His influence on the "methods" course in the College of Education was fruitful. He was active in the National Education Association and served as President of the National Council of Social Studies.

He was active in many organizations. He served terms as a member of the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* and as a member of the Council of the American Historical Association, and he was a member of the Minnesota Historical Society of which he became Vice-President in 1947, of the Mediaeval Academy, and of the American Association of University Professors.

James Oswald Wettereau died November 8. Born on April 7, 1902, Professor Wettereau studied at Columbia University, undertaking early teaching appointments at Columbia College and Williams College. He joined the history department in Washington Square College at New York University in 1924 and was serving currently as acting chairman of the department.

Willard A. Smith, professor of history at the University of Toledo, died in San Sebastian, Spain, on November 9, at the age of fifty-two. He attended the University of Chicago and Georgetown University, receiving his bachelor's degree from the University of Toledo and his master's and doctor's degrees from Harvard University.

Joseph Gregoire deRoulhac Hamilton, Kenan Professor Emeritus at the University of North Carolina, died at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, November 10, at the age of eighty-three. Born in Hillsboro, North Carolina, August 6, 1878, he was educated at the University of the South and at Columbia University, where he was a student of William A. Dunning and obtained his Ph.D. degree in 1906. He served as associate professor, Alumni Professor, and Kenan Professor at the University of North Carolina from 1906 to 1948 and was head of the department of history from 1908 to 1930. He was visiting professor at Harvard University, the University of Michigan, the University of Chicago, and the University of Southern California. Founder and director of the Southern Historical Collec-

tion from 1930 to 1948, he developed it into a major center for research in southern history.

Among the numerous honors and awards he received were election to membership in Phi Beta Kappa; the Columbia University Distinguished Alumni Medal, 1932; the presidency of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association (1921), of the Southern Historical Association (1943), and of the Historical Society of North Carolina (1954); membership on the Executive Council and the chairmanship of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and of the Committee on Nominations of the American Historical Association.

Hamilton's special field of research was the Old South, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. He contributed more than one hundred sketches to the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the *Biographical History of North Carolina*; edited fifteen volumes of primary source materials; wrote five short monographs and nine books including biographies of Robert E. Lee and Henry Ford; and edited the James Sprunt Historical Studies from 1908 to 1924. His most important book was *Reconstruction in North Carolina*. A gifted and inspiring teacher, his most lasting work as a historian was the building of the Southern Historical Collection.

William A. Itter, professor of history at the University of Rhode Island, died on November 18. He held a B.A. degree from Lafayette and a master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1932. He was head of the department of social studies at the Point Pleasant (New Jersey) High School from 1934 to 1942. Having obtained a Ph.D. in 1941 at the University of Southern California, he was associate historian in the War Department before going to the University of Rhode Island in 1943.

Dora Neill Raymond, former professor of history at Sweet Briar College, died December 1. Dr. Raymond wrote in the fields of English and American history. She was a member of several learned societies and served as chairman of the history department at Sweet Briar during her twenty-five years at the college.

Henry S. Lucas, professor emeritus at the University of Washington, died December 28, at the age of seventy-two. A member of the department of history at the University of Washington for thirty-eight years, he received his bachelor's degree from Olivet College in 1913, his master's degree from Indiana in 1915, and his doctorate from the University of Michigan in 1921. His historical activities included membership in the Mediaeval Academy, the American Historical Association (President of the Pacific Coast Branch in 1939), the American Catholic Historical Association (President in 1949-1950), and the Utrecht (Holland) Historical Society (honorary). He served on the advisory board of *Speculum* (1934-1936) and on the board of editors of the *Journal of Modern History* (1936-1938). His works include *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings* and *Netherlanders in America, 1789-1950*, *Short History of Civilization*, and *Renaissance and Reformation*.

John Walter Wayland, Civil War historian, died January 10, 1962, at the

age of ninety. Dr. Wayland received his doctor's degree from the University of Virginia and spent much of his life teaching at various colleges in Virginia. He was the author of thirty books on the state, including *A History of Rockingham County*, *A History of Shenandoah County*, and *Virginia Valley Records*.

The distinguished British historian, R. H. Tawney of Balliol College, Oxford, died on January 16.

Gustave A. Nueremberger, historian with the Department of State and one of the editors of the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series, died on January 20. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Buffalo and his doctorate from Duke University.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his review of Charles Forcey's *The Crossroads of Liberalism*, David Noble asks us to believe that the book is a failure because of the author's "refusal to place his three major figures within the intellectual context of their time." To anyone who has read Forcey this must have come as a considerable surprise since the greater portion of the work is devoted exactly to what Noble demands of it. In fact, it is difficult to understand how Forcey can be said to ignore the intellectual context of his subject in a review that goes on to criticize his "treatment of pragmatism as a central theme of the 'new liberalism.'" Either he did or did not place his figures into a context. It helps little to suggest that "pragmatism is a catchword phrase that means many things to many people." Every philosophy does, including the Hegelian, the influence of which Noble previously discerned in Croly.

Forcey is further accused of treating Croly, Weyl, and Lippmann as "seminal thinkers" (the phrase is Noble's, not Forcey's) and of viewing Croly as "the father of the new liberalism" (again Noble's phrase, not Forcey's). Of course, the whole thrust of the book is in the opposite direction. One need only refer to its superb discussion of the relationship between *The Promise of American Life* and Roosevelt's "New Nationalism" to realize that the reviewer is tilting at windmills. Unfortunately, he attempts to prove his point by bending the meaning of quotations taken from their context. "The reader is led to believe," Noble writes, and then quotes Forcey, "that 'the new liberalism had its first real beginnings in the minds of certain publicists and politicians,' chief of whom was Croly." Now the original passage reads as follows:

The new liberalism had its first real beginnings in the minds of certain publicists and politicians of the progressive era. While some of its aspects had been anticipated earlier by men like Edward Bellamy and Lester Ward, the creed first enjoyed a widespread hearing and partial practice while the progressive era was at its height from 1910 to 1917. . . . Herbert Croly, Walter Weyl and Walter Lippmann were leaders among the men who sought to move liberalism in the new direction.

If ultimately, as Noble suggests, the reviewer grew confused about the meaning of the new liberalism, one can only wonder how much of the fault lay with

the book under review. Forcey nowhere writes that Croly, Weyl, and Lippmann believed in "a capitalist democracy" preserved by a "reformist middle class." The sentence reads, rather, that "they tried to prove that prosperity and freedom in a capitalistic democracy could be preserved by a reformist middle class." And it is the next sentence that indicates the heart of their problem: "The rise and decline of their dreams in an era that mingled sublime progress with bloody carnage has a certain poignancy today." It is made perfectly clear that only after the "decline of their dreams" do Croly and Weyl turn to "the democratic pursuit of essentially socialist ends." Contradictions about or in the same men may be picked from any book if the reviewer allows himself the luxury of comparing a phrase on page viii with one on page 307.

Sarah Lawrence College

CARL RESEK

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In the recent *Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials* which I edited, I failed to acknowledge the use I made in the bibliography of a "Tentative List of Catalogs of Microfilms" prepared in multilith form by Johannes L. Dewton of the Library of Congress. This was an unfortunate and inadvertent oversight, and I should like to make what rectification is possible by asking you to print this letter in your columns.

Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials

RICHARD W. HALE, JR.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Beginning with Volume LXVIII (October 1962), the *Review* will be able to publish three to four additional articles each year. It publishes articles in all fields of history and at this time particularly desires to see essays in English, French, German, and Italian history. Articles will be published from six to twelve months after acceptance.

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